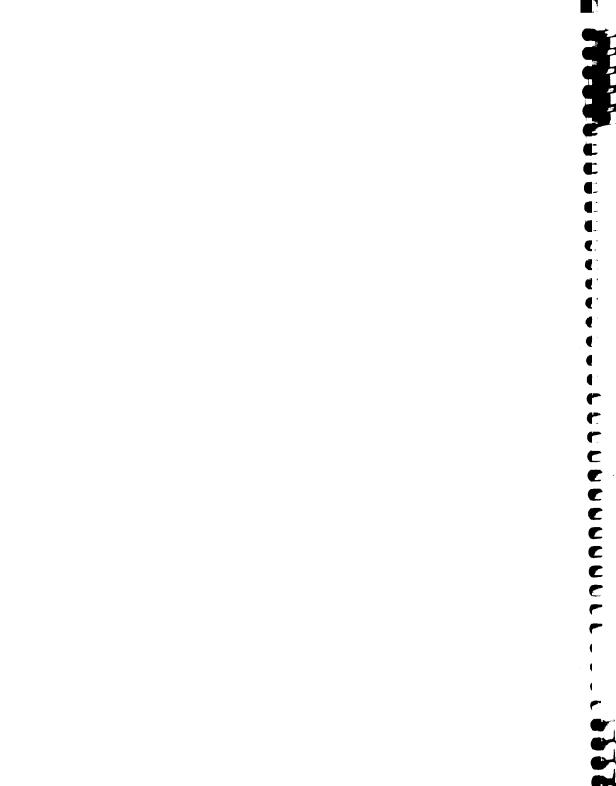
# LATIN-AMERICAN AGENDA 9 9 5



Memory and Hope



# LATIN AMERICA 195

Latin America '95 is:
the Latin American book with the
widest distribution each year both on and
off the Continent.
an anthology of popular wisdom; an annual of
continental hopes.
an almanac of the Latin American spirit,
an historical record of our roots.
a pedigogical tool for education, communication,
solidarity or popular pastoral work.
a sign of communion for those throughout the
Continent who live the Great Causes of
our Homeland, which shape our being,
our dreams, our Latin American
identity.

"The Great Homeland is both a memory and a hope."

"All the hands, all",
the sister Peoples of the Great Someland,
in whom memory and hope flourish.
The blood of the past,
the arc of the future,
the wandering call.
Green is the living land,
blue the sea and our dreams,
and over all the various faces of
Our America, the rainbow.
Pedro Casaldáliga

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### APPRECIATION

We thank once again all those people who have contributed to the new edition of Latinamerican Agenda '95. We also thank those who have sent us texts which we were unable to publish because of lack of space.

We thank the more than 60 popular centres, solidarity groups, popular organizations, justice and peace secretariats, religious congregations, magazines and editorial bodies who have confidence in "Latinamerican Agenda '95" and who edit and distribute it across the Continent and beyond. Thanks too to the other institutions, communities and base organizations who accept it as their own, use it and share with others.

We would especially like to mention Fray David Raimundo dos Santos and the various organizations of the Brazilian Conciencia Negra; Maricarmen Montes y Mujeres for Diálogo in Mexico; the Equipo Nacional de Pastoral Aborigen in Argentina; as well as some of the well-known people whose works are published in this edition: Noam Chomsky, Ríus and Ana Maria Ezcurra. To all of you, from the bottom of our heart: Thank you! in the name of all who use this agenda.

## PERSONAL DATA

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#### Editions of the Latinamerican Agenda:

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The views expressed in the agenda and the articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Social Justice Committee of Montreal.

## Presentation of the LatinAmerican Agenda '95

#### Social Justice Committee of Montreal

#### Another Year...

Once again we have succeeded; and we are bigger - three more countries in Latin America: Paraguay, Peru and Puerto Rico; and two more languages: English and Catalan. We are a family fully "Latinamerican", not only spiritually, but also geographically - we are now everywhere on the Continent. This year we are available in 21 countries and 6 languages, thanks to the more than 80 groups which edit/distribute the Agenda. Such a welcome obliges us to constantly look for better ways to serve. It is of great help for us to know that we have so many brothers and sisters and that you send us your suggestions, thanks and criticisms.

Ever since it was born, the Latinamerican Agenda has sought to be a vehicle for communicating the Latinamerican spirit. No other Continent feels its identity with the same intensity. Latin America is, above all, a utopia: not to be found in any one region but everywhere; throbbing, stimulating, attracting, not something already accomplished, but more like a collective imagination which feeds our identity, our meaning, our hope. The Great Homeland, this Bolivaran dream of utopia which liberates and generates so many energies, is above all a Cause, or even a handful of great Causes which together form the "Spirit of our Great Homeland".

#### Memory and Hope

The theme for this year's agenda is "memory and hope" and it must be understood within the context of the Causes of the Great Homeland. This year we would like to highlight three anniversaries: the three hundredth anniversary of the martyrdom of Zumbí, the great Brazilian defender of

Black pride; the one hundredth anniversary of the death of José Martí, the father of both the Cuban homeland and revolution; and, the centenial of Augusto Sandino's birth. Above all, it is the memory of Zumbí - and the enthusiastic collaboration of so many black organizations throughout the Continent - which has led us to place an emphasis on the Cause of the Blacks.

#### Using the Agenda as a Teaching Tool

The Latinamerican agenda is certainly meant for the personal use of individuals but also as a pedagogical tool for popular or pastoral animation. The texts are always short and adaptable; none are more than two or three pages long. Some even carry suggestions for use with groups. All can be used in this way.

It is of such a size that when opened it can be reprinted on legal-size paper. The diagrams are simple, easy to read and copy. We sacrificed some esthetics, such as more graphics and blank spaces, for the sake of a greater volume of print.

We are very aware of the collective nature of this enterprise. We will continue to gratefully accept your suggestions, material, texts, etc. which we hope you will send for use in the 1996 version of the Latinamerican Agenda.

José Maria Vigil, Editor-in-chief

#### Preface to the English Edition

The Social Justice Committee of Montreal is very happy to present the Latinamerican Agenda '95. This is the first time that the Latinamerican Agenda is printed in English.

We are very greatful to José Maria Vigil and his team in Nicaragua for having sent us most of the material which appears in this agenda. Our own editorial board decided that we would include only a few non-Latinamerican articles. These speak to Northern solidarity with the people of Latin-America.

The translation of the agenda from Spanish to English has been undertaken by a number of volunteers and staff people from the Social Justice Committee. We apologize for any weaknesses and inconsistencies which will inevitably appear. Due to space limitations, we have left out a few items which appear in the original Spanish version of

the agenda and chosen those which we believe to have the most relevance to our readers.

We would like to mention that all proceeds from the sale of the English version of the agenda will go to support the work of the Canada/Central America Urgent Action network (cf article by Shelley Coleman).

We would appreciate any criticisms or suggestions that you might want to share with us so that we can improve the 1996 version of the agenda. We also want to thank all who worked on this agenda, especially Elsa Abelleira who oversaw the translation and Ken Yip, our computer whiz.

- Maura McGrath, cnd, President.

## In the Manner of a Fraternal Introduction

### Memory and Hope

- Pedro Casaldaliga

The life of an individual, or that of a people, entails a dialectical push and pull between past and future—that is, for as long as they remain, respectively, an individual and a people. This dynamic is present with us today. Between the past and the future, or—putting it in terms more filled with spirituality and Spirit—between memory and hope; this is the "stage" upon which human life and human history are played.

When our memory is truly a part of our lives, only then can our hopes be truly founded.

One's hopes are well-founded only if one's life is well-grounded in memory. Our future existence is a result of what many of our brothers and sisters were in that past which is our inheritance. We do not seek the "remembrance of

things past," but rather to forge a secularly won future. As the great theologian Rahner once wrote: "the treasure of the past is the freedom of the future."

Memory and hope are, in the larger scheme of things, like the ends of a single arc: the arc of war and peace. A single arc, memory and hope. According to the mystics, just as the faculty for faith is founded in reason and the faculty for love in will, so is hope—which is at once fragile, powerful and activist—founded in memory.

Colonizers have always sought to subjugate conquered peoples by erasing their memories and extinguishing their hopes. There is no better way to do away with a cultural identity. In our America, despite massive colonization and nu-

vain. We have survived. "We will survive and number in the millions," cried out the Native signatories of the Port Alberni manifesto in the name of us all,.

merous massacres, such efforts have been in

The 1995 Latin American Agenda is intended to help one experience, throughout the new year, this reality which is so ethereal and yet so real, so pluralist and yet so mysteriously one: this Patria Grande, Our America. In short, to "live" its most important causes; to "live" the Spirit which carries it like a wind of fire; to "live"

those emerging subjects now raising it to new

\* the interwoven cultures of indigenous peoples,

\* the popular alternatives, from which will

Blacks, Mestizos and others;

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flower our Latin American socialism or full democracy;

\* women as fully recognized citizens;

\* an environment in which we will live in har-

This America of ours, home of great causes and of a people who are many peoples, has a long memory and fertile hopes. The very fact that, unlike every other continent, it sees itself as a single fatherland/motherland is in itself conclusive proof of the memory and the hope forming the soul of Our America.

America, Our America, has survived and has

today—and increasingly so with each passing

day—a real future. This, in spite of all the successive empires and all the principles surrendered by its oligarchies and politicians. It has survived because it has kept alive—generally at the price of much spilt blood—its roots, its memory, its identity and its hopes throughout these five violent centuries and during many thousands of years before that.

During the preparations, celebrations or con-

and in the days that followed, the indigenous peoples of Native America and the Black people of Afro-America shouted this out to the entire world. What is more, they united their many voices in a single cry of communion, resistance and autonomy—a cry full of memory and hope.

The hemisphere-wide 500 Years of Resist-

demnations around the (in)famous quincentenary

ance campaign was originally a strictly indigenous affair. It has since become The Indigenous, Black and Popular Movement. Even before the initial shock from the Chiapas uprising had dissipated, countless indigenous groups from Mexico and throughout the Americas were already expressing their solidarity-and representatives of both this Maya uprising and the latest indigenous uprising in Ecuador were meeting in the United States with their far off relatives of the north. The Black people of Brazilone third of the total population—will celebrate this year (1995) the three hundredth anniversary of the murder/martyrdom of the great Black leader Zumbi by singing, with its increasingly recovered memory: "Zumbi, Zumbi, voce nao morreu, voce esta em mim" (you have not died, you live on in me).

Christian people are, very explicitly, a people of memory and hope. Jesus of Nazareth left as his testament the memory of his Epiphany. As the Apostle Paul reminded us, keeping this memory alive is not just a matter of religious celebration but also of practice, "until He returns." We preserve the relevance of His Crucifixion and His Resurrection—in persons and peoples—by keeping His memory alive and awaiting Him against all hope.

So, in honour of our Latin American iden-

tity and our faith, let us make this 1995 Latin

America Agenda into both the collective memory of our struggles, martyrings and victories, as well as a hope-filled program for our causes, ideas and utopias. Our memory, our hopes.

January	February	March
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Monday  Basil & Gregory  1 Jn 2:22-28	Tuesday  Genevieve 1 Jn 2:29 - 3:6	4 Wednesday
904 Marines land in Dominican Republic "to protect American interests" 979 Francisco Jentel, defender of indigenous people and campesinos, is victim of "National Security" in Brazil 981 Jose Manuel de Souza, "Ze Piau", worker, is killed in Para, Brazil.	Jn 1:29-34  1981 Diego Quic, an indigenous catechist and leader of popular organizations in Guatemala, is disappeared	Jn 1:35-42  1920 Founding of first Afroamerican baseball League in the United States - National Negro Baseball League  1975 Jose Patricio Leon "Pato", YCS leader and political activist, is disappeared in Chile

Each minute the world wastes \$1.8 million on military arms.

Every hour 1500 children die of hunger or Each day one animal or plant species related disease.

becomes extinct.

	Thursday Telesphore & Emiliana 1 Jn 3:11-21 Kaj Munk 1 Jn 1:42-51 1534 Guarocuya "Enriquillo", Christian leader in La Espanola (Dominican Republic), is the first to rebel in defense of his brothers and sisters 1966 The first World Festival of Negro art and culture is celebrated in Dakar, Africa.	Friday  Epiphany Is. 60:1-8  Eph. 3:2-3a, 5-8  Mt. 2:1-12  1848 Guaranies are declared Paraguayan citizens by decree of Carlos Antononio Lopez  1982 Victoria de la Roca, Guatemalan religious and martyr for the poor of Esquipulas is disappeared.  1988 Julio Gonzalez, bishop of El Puno, Peru, dies in a suspicious accident after having received death threats.	Raymond of Penafort 1 Jn 3:22 - 4:6 Jn 4:12-17,23-25 1981 Sebastiean Mearin, rural leader in Para, Brazil is assassinated. 1983 Felipe and Mary Barreda, christian revolutionary activists are assassinated by the Contras in Nicaragua.
)   			Baptism of Our Lord Is 42:1-4.6-7 Acts 10:34-38 Ceverino Lk 3:15-16
			Portugal to enslave any African nation, as long as he will baptize people 1850 Juan, one of the leaders of the the Quemado Revolution, is hanged in Espirito Santo, Brazil 1912 The African National Congress is established. 1982 Domingo Cahuuec Sic, an indigenous campesino and delegate of the Word, is killed in Rabinal, Baja Verapaz, Guatemala
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9 Monday Eulogio. Julian, Basilia Heb 1:1-8 Mk 1:14-20 1959 Rigoberta Menchu is born in Chimel, Department of Quiché, Guatemala	10 Tuesday  Aldo Heb 2:5-12  Mk 1:21-28  1978 Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, journalist, fighter for liberty against the Somocista dictatorship  1982 Dora Azmitia "Menchy", activist, 23 year-old teacher, marty of the Catholic student movement in Guatemala	11	Wednesday Higinio, Martin of Leon He 2:14-1 Mk 1:29-3

Except for the time of the Second World War, there were more detained, tortured, assassinated, exiled, and oppressed people during the nineteen eighties than at any other time in human history.

12 Thursday Benito, Patiana Heb 3:7-14 Mk 1:40-45 1525 Pedro Alvarado submits to the Cakchiqueles 1840 Dom Silverio Pimenta, the first Black bishop of Brazil, is born 1988 Jurg Weiss, a Swiss theologian, missionary in El Salvador	13 Friday Hilario Heb 4:1-5,11 George Fox Mk 2:1-12 1879 Roca begins the Desert campaign in Argentina	14 Saturday Fulgencio Heb 4:12-16 Eivind Jose Berggra Mk 2:13-17 1988 Miguel Angel Pavon, director of the Human Rights Commission, and Moises Landaverde, Honduras
		2nd Cunday of Ordinary Time Isiah 62:1-5 1 Cor 12:4-11 John 2:1-12 1929 Martin Luther King is born in Atlanta, Georgia 1981 Estela Pajuelo Grimani, campesina, martyr, Peru
		1982 The constitutional law of Canada includes the rights of indigenous people
	February	
4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 15 16 17 11 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 29 30 31	19 20 21 12 13 14 15 16 17 18	

1992

## 16 Monday

Heb 5:1-10

Mk 2:18-22 The Salvador Peace Accords are signed

### Tuesday

Heb 6:10-20 Antonio Abad Mk 2:23-28

1981 Silvia Maribel Arriola, nurse, first religious martyred in combat, accompanying the

### 8 Wednesday Peter's confession Heb 7:1-3,15-17

1535 The City of Kings (Lima) is founded 1981 Jose Eduardo, union leader in Acre, Brazil, is

	Salvadoran people 1988 Jaime Restrepo Lopez, priest, Colombia 1991 Persian Gulf war begins	assassinated
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Each month the world economic system adds 75 million dollars to the debt of over one and one half billion which is crushing the poor of the Third World.

Every year an area of tropical forest, equivalent to three-quarters the area of Guyana is destroyed for all time.

19	Thursday Mario, Marta, Abaco Heb 7:25 - 8:6 Henry, Bishop of Upsala Mk 3:7-12	Pabian & Sebastian Heb 8:6-13 Mk 3:13-19 1973 Amilcar Cabral, poet and revolutionary leader in Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau, is assassinated by the Portuguese police. 1979 Octavio Ortiz, priest, and four students and cate	21 Saturday  Heb 9:2-3, 11-14  Mk 3:20-21  1972 Gerardo Valencia Cano, bishop of Buenaventura, Colombia, prophet of the liberation of the poor
		working with indigenous campesinos in Guatemaia	
			3rd Sunday of Ordinary Time
			Neh 8 2-4a 5-5.6-10 1 Cor 12-12-30 Vicente Lk t-1-14 1565 "Tata" Vasco de Quiroga, bishop of Michoacan, precursor of the indigenous Reductions 1982 Massacre of campesinos in Pueblo Nuevo, Colombia
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## 23 Monday

Heb 9:15,24-28 Mk 3:22-30

#### Tuesday Francis of Sales

America

Heb 10:1-10 Mk 3:31-35 1977 First Indigenous Conference in Central

25 Wednesday Conversion of Paul

1524 The "Twelve Apostles of Mexico" leave Spain

or 9:1-22

Mk 16:15-18

The world's religions (1993): Moslem 959,432,000; Catholics 944,578,000; Other Christians 889,746,000; Hindus 749,400,000; Confuscians 351,300,000; Budhists 341,570,000; Jews 20,211,000;

26 Thu Timothy, Titus	& Silas Heb 10:19-25 Mk 4:21-25	27 Frid	Heb 10:32-39 Mk 4:26-34	28,
	15	54 Pablo de Torres, bishop of P exile from Latin America for indigenous people	enama, first 1853 r defending 1979	3 Jose Marti 9 the Puebla
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				Massacre Valle Maria Ercil Martinez, El Salvad

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December 1994

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Saturday omas Aquinas Heb 11:1-2,8-19 Mk 4:35-40 s born Conference opens

4th Cunday of Ordinary Time Jer 1:4-5,17-19 1 Cor 12 31 - 13,13 Lk 4 21-30 f Bolivian campesinos in Alto Martinez & Ana Coralia tudents, catechists, martyred in

## 30 Monday Martina Heb 11

Hel	Þ	11	:32	40
	N	tk	5-1	1-20

Mk	5:1

Mk 5:1-≨ 9 <mark>48 Mahatma Gandhi dies</mark> .				
$\subset$	Day of Non-violence & Peace			

## 31 Tuesday

Mk 5:21-43

80 Massacre of 40 Quiches, in the Spanish
embassy in Guatemala: Maria Ramirez,
Gaspar Vivi and Vicente Menchu and
companions, martyrs of El Quiche.

Heb 12:1-4

## Wednesday

Cecilia, Viridiana Heb 12:4-7, 11-15

870	Jonathen Jasper Wright is elected to State
	Supreme Court, becoming the first black to
	reach such a high position in the American
	ludiciary

1932 Agustin Farabundo Marti, Alonso Luna and Mario Zapata are executed in the general

<u> </u>	 cemetery of San Salvador 1977 Daniel Esquivel, Paraguayan worker, martyr, member of the Pastoral team to Paraguayan immigrants in Argentina
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Those who say religion and politics have nothing to do with one another, know nothing about religion. - Mahatma Gandhi

Everything is political, but politics is not everything.

- Manuel Mounier

Nothing is more political than to say that religion has nothing to do with politics. - Desmond Tutu

## Canada/Central America Urgent Action Network

ADOLFO AQUILAR PAYES, was a 25 year old student activist at the National University of El Salvador when Treasury Police captured him in 1989. Imprisoned for 3 years, he was held without a judicial warrant, charged with "acts of terrorism" and the deaths of two ARENA party members. The Treasury Police tortured Payes until he confessed to the above charges. In October of 1992, Adolfo Payes began a hunger strike, in an effort to bring his case to trial and prove his innocence.

Human rights organizations in El Salvador sent the details of Payes case and an urgent request for messages of international solidarity to Canada. The members of the

Canada/Central America Urgent Action Network responded immediately to this alert, expressing their concern for the health and safety of Adolfo Payes, and demanding that his case be given fast, fair and impartial consideration. Over the next two months, we gave our membership updates on Payes physical condition and the current status of his court

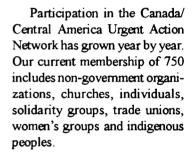
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case; more urgent action messages were sent. On December 3, 1992, we received the good news that Payes had been found not guilty and was released from prison.

The Canada/Central America Urgent Action Network celebrated its third anniversary in April 1994. This national project was initiated by three community-based groups each with a deep commitment to Central America and to human rights education.

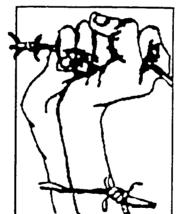
Since 1991, The Social Justice Committee of Montreal (SJC), the Comité Chrétien pour les droits humains en Amérique latine (CC), Montréal and the Christian Task Force on Central America (CTF), British Columbia have served as the coordinating centres for a national network of organizations who wish to express their solidarity with Central Americans through lobbying, advocacy work and urgent action response.



Our members work hard to promote peace and justice. They are ready to take action against human right violations as they occur in Honduras, Guatemala,

El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama and Mexico. Working in fellowship with our Central American partners, the members of the Network send messages of protest, denunciation and support by fax, letter, telephone call or telex. Urgent action responses are sent to international governments, representatives of the Canadian government and when appropriate the United Nations.

The growth of the Network and its success in



its first three years is inspiring! By working together, we have been able to streamline urgent action response across Canada, develop new educational resources and share our vision and expertise. The Canada/Central America Urgent Action Network has become an important voice in the national expression of solidarity with Central America and Mexico. We are committed to keeping this voice alive in 1994-1995. With your support, the Network will continue its fight for the recognition of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights in Central America.

If your group or organization is interested in finding out more information about our project, making a donation or becoming a member of the Canada/Central America Urgent Action Network please contact the Centre in your region.

Christian Task Force on Central America /Box 65899, Station F, Vancouver, British Columbia V5N 5L4 / phone: 604-875-9218, fax: 604-872-0709 / (responsible for Western provinces)

Social Justice Committee / 1875 de Maisonneuve ouest, 3rd Floor / Montréal, Québec H3H 1J9 phone: 514-933-6797, fax: 514-933-9517 / (responsible for Ontario, English-speaking Quebec and the Atlantic provinces)

Comité Chrétien pour les droits humains en Amérique latine / 25 Jarry ouest / Montréal, Québec H2P 1S6 / phone: 514-387-2541 fax: 514-387-5550 / (responsible for French-speaking Canada)

The Canada/Central America Urgent Action Network is funded in part by the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development.

## Our Work Has Just Begun

#### - Ernie Schibli

Remember when events in Central America graced the front pages of our newspapers and routinely made the evening TV news? —the assassinations of Archbishop Romero, the American religious, and the Jesuits in El Salvador? —the Contra war (with just a little help from their friends) against the Sandanistas in Nicaragua? —Rios Montt and his scorched earth policy in Guatemala? These were just a few of the stories which came our way from that part of the world during the seventies, the eighties,

and even the first couple of years of this decade. They and many other stories helped galvanize scores of people into action. Solidarity groups were formed, churches mobilized, politicians lobbied, tools and school supplies gathered, refugees sponsored and welcomed, and delegations sent to the region.

But now! With the exception of a few days worth of attention to El Salvador's elections and the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas (I think we can safely call this a Central American event), coverage of events in Central America has virtually disappeared. It has been replaced by Serbia and Bosnia, Rwanda and Haiti - the stories of 1994. This would be great news if the reason were that all is well in Central America; that

of 1994. This would be great news if the reason were that all is well in Central America; that peace, security and prosperity are the rule of the day. Unfortunately, this is far from the case. The poverty in Nicaragua is worse than ever; human rights violations and misery are still the lot of Guatemalans; Honduran campesinos are still engaged in their struggle for land; and, as recent visitors to El Salvador have reported to us, the plight of the poor in that country is worse than it was during the war years.

So, why has Central America been pushed

off of even the back pages of our daily newspa-

pers? I think that there are two main reasons.

The first is that there is no longer open warfare

in the region, with the exception of parts of Guatemala and even in that country peace is being negotiated. Secondly, with the fall of the Soviet Empire, the United States no longer can claim that communism in Central America is a threat to its security. Moreover, the American economic situation now makes it much harder to keep the various armies of the region supplied with arms. So now there are no more bloody battles or horrible massacres nor even press conferences by generals or politicians decrying the communist threat to attract the media. These fires have been extinguished; now on

What this demonstrates is western society's preoccupation with symptoms and our indifference to the real problems. All too often what graces our television news programs and the front pages of our newspapers are spectacular pictures and stories which have everything to do with the effects and absolutely nothing to do with the causes. Several members of the Social

Justice Committee have recently returned from

that country bringing with them a most disturb-

Bosnia, Rwanda and Haiti!

ing picture, so let us use El Salvador as an example.

Land and democracy (or lack of both) have long been at the heart of the problems in El Salvador. It was the lack of land and the subsequent impoverishment of most Salvadorans together with the death squads which terrorized all who opposed (or were suspected of opposing) the repressive political, economic and military power of the elites which led to the war which extended through the eighties and into the nineties. When the war finally ground to a halt a few years ago and peace accords were signed it was agreed that, among other things, there would be fair elections and there would be land reform. Moreover, the judicial system was to be reformed and a new civil police force, independent from the military, would be established. In other words, those issues which led to the war were to be addressed.

So, what do we have now? There were elections in March, 1994 and, while there were many irregularities and reports of fraud, the results have generally been accepted. That the ARENA party, so closely identified to the forces of repression won, should have come as no surprise. After all, it controlled the wealth and the news media, the police and the military. It also enjoyed the advantages of being the party in power.

However, when one looks at the plight of the poor it becomes very clear that they are no better off. Most still do not have access to land. Prices have risen astronomically. Within a week of President Calderon Sol's assuming office, prices of basic food staples (i.e. corn and beans) had risen by 30%. Within two months the price of a package of coffee went from 12 colones (about \$2.50) to 40 colones (about \$8). Many families which endured the war in which so many of their sons and daughter, brothers and sisters were killed now ask, "For what?"

At the same time, the Salvadoran government has been extremely slow in fulfilling the Peace Accord agreements and has even directly contravened them. The dreaded death squads have not disappeared; only now they manage to cloak their activities under the guise of common crime. In July, 1994 the Joint Group, established to investigate the existence and activities of armed groups, published a report linking the armed forces, the police and the judiciary to the death squads. Whether the government does something about this remains to be seen.

A few years ago I and a friend were in Nicaragua and my friend asked some Nicaraguans if they felt abandoned by their friends in Canada and the United States. Without any hesitation at all, they answered in the affirmative. As long as there was fighting, the rest of the world showed some interest. As soon as the Contras laid down their arms and the Sandanistas lost the elections, the eyes of the rest of the world, with the exception of a relative few, turned elsewhere. Yet the poverty I saw in Nicaragua in 1992 was worse than what I saw in 1984.

Now, popular organizations, church and human rights groups in El Salvador fear that the same thing will happen to their country. Out of sight, out of mind. The fighting is over; the country is on the road to peace but many of the underlying injustices remain. Both the struggle and the need for friends endure

There is an added element to our solidarity in 1995. Over the years Canadians and other Northerners have become accustomed to pressuring the various governments in Central America to act in a more just fashion. We have condemned human rights abuses and called for reform. On the occasions when we spoke to our own governments (with the notable exception of the United States) it was to ask that they put pressure on other governments or even change their policies in relation to Central America.

Very seldom, though, did we call for fundamental change in the ways our governments acted.

If we look a little more closely at the ARENA government of El Salvador we will see that many of its policies, especially those which hurt the poor, are in line with the neo-liberal policies espoused by the world's powers. The political and economic elites of every Central American country are working hand-in-hand with their counterparts in the United States, Canada, Japan, and most European countries. Through their policies, the IMF and the World Bank (both controlled by the North), affect the lives of the campesinos of Nicaragua and El Salvador just as they do those of Africans and Asians.

Solidarity with the poor of Central America in the mid-nineties means: helping them materially in the reconstruction of their countries; continuing to denounce the human rights violations which remain all-too-frequent; supporting efforts to guarantee that the peace accords in various countries are fulfilled; and, working for the reform of the whole international socio-economic system because it is this system which underlies everything else.

At the beginning of this article I expressed my dismay that the news media had abandoned Central America and turned its attention elsewhere. Some readers may have formed the impression that I begrudge the space that is given to countries like Rwanda and Haiti. Not at all! We need to know what is happening there. However, we need the whole story because without it, in a short while, well before true peace and justice exist there, our attention will be called elsewhere. Another blaze might, just might, have been extinguished but nothing more than that.

So my friends, who care passionately about Central America. Our work is far from over; in many ways it has just begun.

Paul Mki Gen 1:1-19 Mark 6:53-56  1992: Sergio Méndez Arceo, Bishop of Cuernavaca, patriach of solidarity.	Gen 1:20 - 2:4a Mark 7:14-23 1974: Independence of Grenada. National celebration.	Gen 2:45-9,15-17 Mark 7:14-23 1712: Rebellion of slaves in New York, U.S.A.
	1990: Raynal Saenz, priest, Peru	
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The ten demands of Chiapas: land, work, housing, health care, education, democracy, justice, freedom, sovereignty and peace. Chiapas has awakened the national conscience, the government, the citizens, the political parties and their candidates.

- Carlos Fuentes

The concern to unite exists throughout Latin America. First Mexican Indigenous Congress in San Cristobal de las Casas, October 1974

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10	Gen 4:
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Mark 8:11-13

ay 14 Tuesday
Gen 4:1-15.25 Gen 6:5-3, 7:

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15 Wednesday

Gen 8:6-13,20-22 Mark 8:22-26

982 James Miller, a North American religious brother, martyr of the Guatemalan indigenous church.	Friendship Day	1600: José de Acosta, missionary, historian and and defender of the indigenous culture, Peru.
		1968: Camilio Torres, priest and martyr for the peoples' struggle for freedom, Colombia. 1978: Francisco Soares, parish priest and martyr
		of the Argentian people.  1981: Juan Alonso Hernandez, priest and martyr of the people of Guatemala.
		10.000

A christian is above all a free individual and is no-one's subject; a christian is servant to all things and a subject to everyone. A christian should do everything without expecting a reward, only to help God. The entire church as well as each christian has the duty to repent every day.

- Martin Luther

## 17 Friday

Gen 11:1-9 Mark 8:34-39

Heb 11:1-7

18 Saturday Mark 9:1-12 Martin Luther

1548: Martin Luther dies in Germany.

1519: Hernan Cortés leaves Cuba to conquer Mexico.

1988: Official opening of the Brasilian Brotherhood Campaign, which adopted the theme of the Black people for the first time. It is a victory

for blacks.

1590: Bernardino de Sahagun, missionary in Mexico, protector of our people's culture. 1990: Students occupy the State University of Tennesee, traditionally Afro-american, to

7th Sunday of Ordinary Time 1 Cam 26 2,7-9,12-13,22,23 1 Cor 15 45-49

Luke 6 27-38

demand equal economic treatment.

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March

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18 25

20 Monday  Ect 1:1-10 Mark 9:13-28	21 Tuesday Pedro Damian Ecol 2:1-13 Mark 9:29-36	22 Wednesday 1 Peter 5:1- Mett 10:13-19
1524: "On day 1-Garrel the Quichés were destroyed by the men of Castille" according to the Solola memorial 1974: Domingo Lain, priest and martyr of the freedom struggles, Colombia. 1974: The black brasilian poet, Solano Trinidad dies.	1934: Augusto C. Sandino, popular leader of Nicaragua is assassinated by Somoza. 1965: Malcom X, the Afro-american freedom leader is assassinated in the U.S.A.	1910: Marine intervention in Nicaragua. 1979: Independence of St. Lucia. Public holiday. 1990: Campesinos, martyrs of Iquicha, Peru.
1978: In Colombia, Decree 1142 orders that the mother tongue and culture of the indigenous peoples be acknowledged.		

If our archdiocese has become a conflictive diocese there is no doubt: it is because of the desire to be true to this new evangelization, which the Second Vatican Council and the meetings of the latin american bishops insist be a very committed, fearless evangelization.

Oscar Romero, Mar. 11, 1979

Bartholomew Eccl 5:1-10 Ziegenbalg Mark 9:40-49 1535: Fray Tomas of Berlanga arrives at the Galapagos islands. 1970: Independence of Guyana. Public holiday.	Matthais Eccl 6:5-17 Mark 10:1-12 1821: Iguala Plan. Proclamation of Mexico's independence. 1920: Nancy Astor, the first woman to be elected to parliament, makes her first speech in London.	Eccl 17:1-1 Isabel Fedde Mark 10:13-1 1778: José de San Martin is born. 1980: Military coup in Surinam 1982: Tucapel Jiménez, 60 years old, martyr of the chilean union struggles. 1987: Indigenous leader, Cainconé, from the Pilaga community of Formoas (Argentina).
		is assassinated
		8th Sunday of Ordinary Tin
		26 Eccl 27 5 1 Cor 15.54-
		1550: Antonio de Valdivieso, bishop of Nicaragua martyr for defending the Indigenous Peopl 1885: The European powers, at a meeting in
		Berlin, divide the African continent among themselves.  1965: Jimmie Lee Jackson, a black civil rights
		activist is beaten to death by police.
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independence from Halti. Public holiday.

1844: The Dominican Republic gains its

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Mark 10:17-27

28 Tuesday

1924: The U.S. Marines land in Honduras and

1989: Teresita Ramirez, a nun of the Compania de

occupy Tegucigalpa.

Eccl 35:1-15 Mark 10:28-31 Wednesday

1739: In Jamaica a peace treaty with 15 points is

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Joel 2:12-18 2 Cor 5:20 - 6:2 Matt 6:1-6,16-18

	Mana order is assassinated in Cristales,	signed between the slaves and the whites.
	Mana order is assassinated in Cristales, Colombia. 1989: Miguel Angel Benitez, priest, Colombia.	signed between the slaves and the whites.  1959: CLAR, the Latin American Religious Confederation is born.
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## 15 years on: Archbishop Romero

- Maria Lopez Vigil (author of the book "Parts of a portrait of

Archbishop Romero".)

He could be preaching in meetings or gatherings, a red skullcap on his head, a cardinal of the Holy Catholic Church.

Given his unswervingly orthodox path he could have counted on almost all the votes required to have been rewarded with this position.

Instead, shot in the heart, he is buried in the basement of a dilapidated cathedral in a poor country of Central America, in the forgotten South.

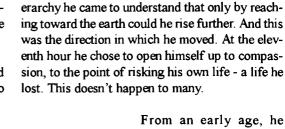
There are only a few human beings who make such a dramatic change in their course of life when they are old. It is younger people who are more ready for the adventure of exchanging security for danger. Old people do not change. That's a fact of life.

A law of history states that the more power figures of authority have, the more distant from people they

become. Their hearts grow insensitive.

These statements do not hold true for Oscar Amulfo Romero - the best known Salvadoran minister, martyr and saint of our Latin America. Not only was he "converted" at the age of 60 but he also occupied the highest position of the Church in his country as he drew closer to people and to what was actually happening.

Having reached the top of the ecclesiastical hi-



From an early age, he wanted to be a priest even when he was a carpenter's apprentice. He helped his father who was a telegraphist and loved playing the flute and sneaking under the circus tent when it came to town. He was born on August 15th, 1917, the second of eight brothers in Ciudad Barrios, San Miguel, El Salvador. At 13 he entered the seminary and at 26 he was ordained as a priest.

For 23 years (1944-67) he was the parish priest in San Miguel, working a dedicated 24 hours a day with inimitable

tenacity in his pastoral work which included masses, long lines for confessions, saying the rosary, novenas, giving catechism classes, *cofradias* and religious classes in catholic colleges. He was a good friend to both the rich and the poor, wanting to be the minister to both the lambs and the wolves. He took alms from the rich to give to the poor, this was how he helped the poor solve their problems and the rich ease their conscience.

For 7 years (1967-74) he was the assistant bishop of San Salvador. During the intense and



glorious days of Medellin,\*

Bishop Romero, with his usual tenacity, acted like a mini-inquisitor towards the more progressive and committed priests participating in the contradictory struggles of a country in turmoil. He acted the same way toward the base communities which were undertaking new forms of evangelisation and social commitment. This became ever more of a problem for the Church of San Salvador, one of the most progressive in the Americas, in one of the most conflict-ridden countries in the continent - El Salvador; the smallest and most densely populated, where the "14 Families" owned everything. It was the country that in 1932 had witnessed the massacre of 40,000 peasants in one week and where those responsible for that massacre, years later, published the following statement in the newspapers: "We killed 40,000 and we had 40 years of peace. If we'd killed 80,000 we would have had 80 years."

Thanks to his role as inquisitor, Romero was named Bishop of Santiago de Maria. He lived in this rich cotton and coffee-producing region for 3 years (1974-77). Although he continued to be very friendly with the rich landowners, it was here that he began to be catechized by reality - by the lives of the wretched day labourers who picked coffee in the rich people's estates, and by those of the poor who had become delegates of the word, preaching the good news of the gospel to their companions living in abject poverty.

Thanks to his years of striving to be a neutral and exemplary priest, the military and the oligarchy proposed him to the Vatican as the new Archbishop of San Salvador in 1977. It was at a time when the country was experiencing its deepest crisis (one that would result in civil war 4 years later) with the mass awakening of the poor who demanded democracy, justice and life. The criminal intransigency of the rich denied them this. The country was in turmoil and the rich put their trust in Romero to extinguish the fire of the poor.

Fifteen days after being named Archbishop, one of the most obvious election frauds in El Salvador, in favor of the military party, took place. It was followed by a massacre, in the centre of San Salvador, of people demonstrating against this. The small fire became a large one. One month later, in Aguilares, paramilitary forces, working for the landowners, assassinated the Jesuit, Rutilio Grande, the most respected of the Salvadoran priests at the time. Overcome by the rising tide. Archbishop Romero, between March 12th (the assassination of Rutilio) and the 20th (the openair mass that Archbishop Romero celebrated in his memory, attended by 100,000 people) underwent a real "road to Damascus" \*\* experience. From that moment on he was a changed man, never again to be a shy priest obsessed with laws and institutions. From then on his tenacity led him to serve the Holy Spirit and his people.

During the 3 years he spent as the head of the archdiocese of San Salvador the prophetic personality of Archbishop Romero was born, grew and developed. It was a time of increasing grassroots organisation and, as a consequence, of cruel government repression against the people and more specifically against members and institutions of the Church. No Church in Latin America has a more extensive and lengthy record of martyrdom than the Salvadoran in those years.

The homilies that Archbishop Romero used to give Sunday after Sunday in the cathedral soon became the most free, accurate and reliable messages in the country. Both within El Salvador and beyond, the stature of the Archbishop grew and his homilies transformed him into the spokesperson of the Salvadoran people in their struggle. Thanks to him, the eyes of the world and the solidarity of many hearts were drawn to El Salvador as never before.

The homilies were lengthy, up to 2 hours or more and the content was strongly theological. They are a permanent catechism. They are also a "weekly newspaper." Nothing escaped his pastoral assessment: no national event, no hint of violence or flicker of hope. Every week people crowded into the cathedral of San Salvador to hear him. His message nourished their collective hope.

It was both what he said and his presence. He never tired of visiting the communities and celebrating confirmations and masses. He was a public and private advisor to grassroots leaders and political personalities, a mediator in strikes and in the frequent conflicts of those years. Archbishop Romero seemed to have the ability to be everywhere at the same time.

His change and his increasing commitment and leadership became more and more intolerable to the system. Slander campaigns, the assassination of his priests, threats, ecclesiastical pressure; they tried everything. However, once he laid his hand to the plow, he never looked back. From January 1980 on, when the political formula of the military junta that had taken power a few months earlier had failed, his name was the first on the death squads' list.

Archbishop Romero never watched out for his own personal security and right up until the end he laid his cards on the table. He was fully aware that they wanted to kill him, and he did not want to die. "I have never loved life so much; I want a little more time; I don't have the calling to be a martyr," he told a friend in the last weeks of his life.

On Sunday March 23rd he met with his people for the last time in the cathedral; when the homily was over he made a passionate and historic appeal to the soldiers and the police not to shoot their fellow brothers and sisters and to disobey orders given by officials to kill.

On the following day, March 24th, 1980, as the afternoon was drawing to a close, he was finishing the homily in a mass for a deceased woman in the chapel of the hospital for cancer patients, in front of a handful of faithful, when his time came. A gunman working for Roberto D'Abuisson, the founder of the ARENA party, shot him with a bullet that pierced his heart. He fell at the foot of the altar, but on the side of life.

The people picked up his body and wept as if they were weeping for their father and mother. This feeling of having been orphaned filled the eight days of official mourning that followed. On Palm Sunday, Salvadorans bid him farewell at a jam-packed mass which was interrupted by shots and bombs, fired, as planned, by security forces positioned around the main square. 40 people were killed and hundreds were injured.

With his assassination, which is still unpunished, the dykes were broken and all semblance of respect and compassion was washed away. In the tragic year of 1980 the shepherd was wounded and the sheep scattered. Torrents of blood, unjustly spilled, drenched the four corners of the country. The following year saw the beginning of a war that was to last 12 long years.

The blood of Oscar Romero, mingled forever with that of the people whom he loved and served, continues to bear fruit. On March 1st, 1992, when the war in El Salvador had ended, there, hanging from the top of the cathedral, was a huge banner which looked down over the huge crowd that was celebrating the first day of peace and freedom. It said, "Archbishop, today you are resurrected in your people."

<sup>\*</sup>days of Medellin. The Roman Catholic bishops of Latin America met at Medellin, Colombia in 1968. This conference is noted for its approbation of liberation theology and the bishops' decision that the Latin American Church should take on the "option for the poor".

<sup>\*\*</sup> Road to Damascus. The future apostle Paul, while persecuting Christians, was riding to Damascus when he was struck from his horse and blinded. A voice, heard only by Paul, asked why he was persecuting him. This event led to an abrupt change in Paul's life.

## Zumbí

Hollows of the landscape, depths of the soul. Zumbi smokes his pipe, his gaze lost in the high red rocks - their open grottos like wounds. He does not see that the day is dawning with the light of enmity. He does not see the flocks of terrified birds in flight.

He does not see the traitor coming. He sees Comrade Antonio Soares arriving, and he rises and embraces him. Soares stabs him several times in the back with a dagger.

The soldiers stick the head on the point of a lance and take it to Recife, so that it will rot in the plaza and the slaves will learn that Zumbí was not immortal.

Now the breath of life has left Palmares. This oasis of liberty in colonial America had lasted for a century and had withstood more than forty invasions. The wind has carried

away the ashes of the Blacks of Macacos and Subupira, Dambrabanga

and Obenga, Tabocas, and Arotirene. For the conquerors, Palmares' century is condensed into the moment when the dagger thrusts ended Zumbi's life. Night will fall and nothing will remain beneath the cold stars. But what can a night's vigil tell us compared with the knowledge embodied in dreams? Those who were conquered dream of Zumbi, and their dreams tell them that as long as one man is the owner of another man Zumbi's ghost will walk these lands. He will limp as he goes, because Zumbi was lame from a bullet wound. Limping, he will travel up and down the years, and he will fight in these palm jungles and in every part of Brazil. Zumbi will be the name of the leaders of the continual Black rebellions.



# The Upstream Journal,

on issues of development and human rights.

Published six times a year by the Social Justice Committee of Montreal.

Write for a free sample issue.

• • • • • • • • •	2 Thursday Simplicio Deut 30:15-20 John & Charles Wesley Luke 9:22-25	3 Friday Isalah 58:1-9a Emeterio, Caledonio, Marino Matt 9:14-15 1982: Hipólito Cervantes Arceo, Medican priest, martyred for being in solidarity with the Guatemalan people. 1982: Emiliano Pérez Obando, Delegate of the Word and a District Judge, martyred in the Nicaraguan revolution.	Saturday Isalah 58:9b-14 Casimir Luke 5:27-32 1982: The United States begins operating a nuclear reactor in the Antarctic 1990: Nahaman Carmona, street child, dies of wounds inflicted by the police in Guatemala City. 1992: falled coup d'etat in Venezuela	
				March
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Woman! You are the devil's doorway. You have led into error those whom the same evil would not attack from the front. It is your fault that the Son of Man had to die. Cover your head and do penance. - Tertulian (160-230)

Among all the savage beasts there is not one as dangerous as the woman. - John Chrysostom (344-407)

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Rodrigo, Solomon, Eulogius Luke 6:36-38 1958: José Antonio Echeverria, student and Catholic Action activist, is marytered in the fight by the Cuban people to overthrow the dictator Battsta.

1983: Marianela Garcia, a lawyer of the poor, foundress of the Salvedoran Human Rights Commission (non-government), is martyred.
1990: María Mejia, peasant mother, Guatemala.

## **14** Tuesday

Isaiah 1:10, 16-20

Mathilda Matt 23:1-12

1549: The black Franciscan saint, San Antonio de Cathegeró, dies.

1905: U.S. Marines arrive in Honduras. 1933: The Afroamerican composer, Quincy Jones, 15 Wednesday

Luisa de Marillac Matt 20:17-28

Lusa de Maniiac Maπ 20:17-2: 1493: Colombus returns to Spain after his first

voyage. 1951: Artemides Zatti, Salesian, the "damned saint of Patagonia", dies in Argentina.

1961: The Alliance for Progress is formed.

1991: Ariel Granade, a Colombian missionary is killed by guerillas in Mozambique. He had been closely linked with the poor in his homeland.

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20 27

21 22

23 24 30 31

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19 20 21

26 27 28 22 23 24 25

22 Wednesday Deut 4:1.5-9

Matt 5:17-19 1873: the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico. 1980: Luis Espinol, priest and journalist, is

In the name of God, then, and in the name of this suffering people whose cries rise up to heaven more loudly every day, I ask you, I beg you, I order you: Stop the repression.

of those who welcome them.

The word remains. This is the great consolation of preaching. My voice

will disappear, but my words which are Christ's will remain in the hearts

Hosea 14:2-10 Catherine of Sweden Mark 12:28-34 1918: Canadian women obtain the right to vote, 1980: Oscar Arrusfo Romero, "St. Romero of the Americas", archbishop of San Salvador, prophet and martyr.	Isaiah 7:10-14 Heb 10:4-10 Luke 1:26-38 1914: Anglican clergy arrive in Argentina.
	26  4th Sunday of Lent Joshua 5.9a, 10-12 2 Cor 5.17-21 Luke 15.1-3
	World Theatre Day

Many are ready to accept Christianity, but not necessarily the western version, which is accidental. - L. Boff We have learned to be suspicious of and to mismask the western understanding of what it is to be human.

- J. Sobrino.

the United States. 1985: José Manuel Parada, sociologist in the	Benjamin, Amos Wis 2:1a,12-22 John Donne John 7:1-2,10,25-30 1787: Expulsion of the Jesuits from Latinamerica. 1866: Eruption of war between Spain, on one alde, and Chile, Bolivia and Peru, on the other. 1987: Rosell Correa da Silva, farmer, in Natalino, Brazil.	A Saturday  Jer 11:18-20  Hugo John 7:40-53	
			March
		Sth Cunday of Lent Isaiah 43 16-21 Phi 3 8-14 Francisco de Paula John 8:1-11	
February  S M T W T E S  5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28  February  S M T W T  5 6 7 8 9 10 11 5 6 7 8 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25	T F S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8		,,•• <sup>•</sup>

## **Ecology**

## To Formulate the Question

### 1 Ecology Presupposes a Vision of the World

The question of ecology is one that is more than purely technical (how to protect the "biosphere and nature" in general) or only socio-economic or political. Although it is all of these, on a more profound level it is a question of culture, of a conception of the world and a way of behaving in relation to things. Specifically, it is about a culture of life (as seen in Hinduism, in native American cultures, in Francis of Assisi and Albert Schweitzer, and perhaps also in African cultures.)

Ecology thus presupposes a truly ontological philosophy of life, and especially a sensitivity to the natural world, affirming life in all its aspects. It goes beyond the nihilism, the lack of feeling for life and for the sense of life which is the final result of Western rationalism (Nietzsche). Understood in this way, the ecological question embraces ethics (ecological justice, "all living things deserve to live") and religion (spirituality with an ethical dimension) and the ways of worshipping life. It might be said that only within a religious perspective can full account be taken of the question of life and of its corollary, the question of death (death which forms part of life rather than being its opposite.) Nevertheless, it would be an exaggeration to take ecologism as a new religion, (vitalist, naturalist, or of a neo-pantheist sort) having at its centre the reality of nature or of life (ecocentrism.)

### 2) The Anthropocentric Principle in Ecology

Anthropological de-centring is undoubtedly taking the place of the anthropocentrism of domination, which sees the place of the human being in the world as that of despot, "lord and master of nature" (Descartes). But it is possible to envisage a new anthropocentrism, one of communion, following Genesis 2, in which humans appear as stewards of the natural world and in consequence as servants of life

Living beings are not all of equal value. A hierarchy of life exists. The life of the spirit represents "the arrow of evolution" (Teilhard). But should not the biblical saying "the greatest is the one who serves" also be taken into account?

We serve life or we make a servant of life. Perhaps both of these are valid.

### 3) Ecology and the Social System

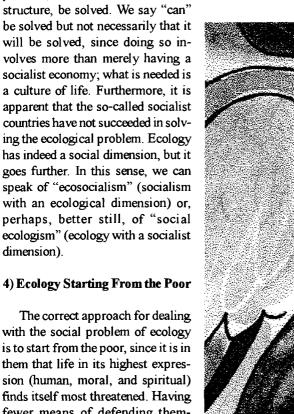
To introduce the question of ecology without seeing its social context is to go no further than environmentalism or conservationism. We need to raise the question of the social system and particularly "the control of the means of production," which, from an ecological standpoint, can also be the chief "means of destruction." "Social ecology" is therefore necessary and an economic (infrastructural) approach to ecology is indispensable. This is a point that is rarely illuminated. Nevertheless, it is the owners of the major means of production who are potentially the chief agents of pollution.

Through "the logic of its system," capitalism is by definition a way of production which lays waste to human nature and to universal Nature. The capitalist socioeconomic system is one which ecology must necessarily call into question. A policy of an "eco-capitalist" sort is incapable of solving the ecological problem (from the point of view of social structures). This does not mean that we cannot give strategic support to particular meas-

ures taken by a capitalist state (regarding deforestation, laws against pollution, etc.) or even that it is not incumbent upon us to do so.

Only in a social system characterised by "economic democracy" (socialism) can the ecological problem, insofar as it is one that involves social structure, be solved. We say "can" be solved but not necessarily that it

still stand in need of ecological education; education from the viewpoint of cultural sensitivity as much as from that of environmentally sound technology and practice. Perhaps the poor, in that they are the principal victims of environmental destruction, can even come to play a major role in the field of ecology.



### The correct approach for dealing with the social problem of ecology

dimension).

is to start from the poor, since it is in them that life in its highest expression (human, moral, and spiritual) finds itself most threatened. Having fewer means of defending themselves, the poor, rather than being responsible for pollution, are the victims of ecological disasters. This approach is important when we consider the "hierarchy of life," since it permits us to criticize the romantic environmentalism which struggles on behalf of butterflies and trees while ignoring the huge majority of impoverished human beings (a mindset that

is very prevalent in liberal and capitalist circles). The poor, nevertheless,



## Nunca Mas - Never Again

Impunity is an important word through much of Latin America, especially in those countries which have experienced repression. It refers to either official or tacit agreements not to charge or punish those thought to be guilty of human rights violations. In El Salvador, the Truth Commission listed a large number of people, most of whom were connected with the military, as being guilty of human rights violations. Within a few days of its report, then president Cristiani granted an amnesty to all. It was equivalent to stating that these serious violations never existed. In Guatemala the question of impunity is on the table right now. The following article tells us how people in the Southern part of South America are dealing with this question. The Editors.

Between 1984 and 1990 when countries that today make up the Mercosur\* were earnestly trying to recovery democracy, they were shaken by the publication first in Argentina (1984), then in Brazil (1985), Uruguay (1989), and Paraguay (1990) of a series of reports which, from different perspectives of study and research, brought to light a mass of documents and testimonies proving the state violations of human rights that had occurred at the hand of the military, particularly in the 1970s, constituted the violation of human rights in a form that was "organic to state repression by the armed forces". This systematic and totalitarian nature of the crimes gave the torturers such a high profile that, even today, many still wonder what kind of involvement "those who disappeared" and those who have been presented as victims actually had.

Besides conveying the shared view that violence breeds violence, these books furnish ample evidence that behind the doctrine of "national security" there exists a regressive ideology that ignores the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights that was an achievement of consensus for all humanity.

Hence the title, Never Again! urging the population to get fully involved in all areas of civil society to ensure that it seriously assume its respon-

sibility in those areas of which the Latin American bishops spoke, at the Puebla Conference (1979, when dictatorships were in power all over Latin America) when they said that "...every man and every woman, no matter how insignificant they seem, has an inviolable nobility which they themselves and others must respect unconditionally".

The common denominator of these books is that they are informative documents but each was prepared by different commissions which had access to diverse sources. As a result of military pressures, the democratic governments of the four countries have been forced to accept, in some form or other, a system of impunity for those who committed these crimes against humanity. For that reason these books are a valuable legacy that we must pass on to our children so that they may better comprehend all that still remains to be done to achieve true democracy; democracy for all - far from fear and vengeance because it is based on truth and justice.

### Argentina

In Argentina, the recently installed democratic government set up a National Commission on the Disappeared (CONADEP), not to

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try the cases for they are under the jurisdiction of the constitutional judges, but to investigate what happened to the disappeared during those ill-fated years. The Commission, made up of people both well-known and well-respected in

people both well-known and well-respected in Argentina, noted in its prologue, "It is with sadness and pain that we have carried out the mission that was entrusted to us by the Constitutional President of the Republic. Our job was very arduous as we had to piece together a horrible puzzle from scanty evidence as all traces

had been deliberately erased, all documentation

burned and buildings even demolished. We had to rely on the testimony of family members, those who had managed to escape the inferno, and even on the confessions of the perpetrators of the repression, who came to us for obscure reasons.

In the course of our in-

vestigations we were in-

forgetting ..."

horrors.

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sulted and threatened by
those who, unrepentant,
clung to the oft-repeated
reasons justifying the 'dirty
war': that it was waged to save
the Fatherland and preserve its
Christian and Western values. They
accused us of not being ready to accept national
reconciliation, of rekindling the flames of hate
and resentment and of standing in the way of

The successive editions, its translation into a number of languages, the fact that it inspired similar reports in other countries demonstrate that this difficult work was not done in vain. As the authors had to do, many others - myself included - have to overcome much resistance to be able to read books such as these for it seems

easier to have faith in humanity by ignoring such

Nunca Más. Informe de la Comision Nacional sobre la desaparicion de personas. Editorial University de Buenos Aires 1984.

### Brazil

The Brazilian book was put out by the Catholic Archdiocese of Sao Paulo. Cardinal D. Paulo Evaristo Arns underlines the humanizing and evangelical purposes for analyzing and classifying the crimes of this period. The book begins with his own testimony of the many years spent with people who saw their loved ones disappeared. He points out that no one on earth could ever describe the pain of losing someone this way. "For the wife and mother there was dark-

ness over all the land, as at the death of Jesus. "The book doesn't pretend to be a mere denunciation but rather a testimony and a call to one and all to re-examine our true identity through the disfigured faces of the tortured and their torturers.

The

publication

specialists who had at their disposal nearly all the political procedures carried out by the Brazilian Military Justice between 1964 and March 1979. What is of the greatest impact are the testimonies given with absolute conviction by the torturers themselves about their own actions.

summarizes a 5,000 - page study carried out by

Nowhere is this more eloquently expressed than in the author's commentary in the book's preface "... if torturers are conscious agents of their degrading acts, there must be other motivating factors that bring them to behave in this manner ..." Invariably, the motive is obedience to some tyrant, or "national security". Seeking

rapid economic development, the military regime assumed exceptional powers and overrode the constitutional rights of citizens. These exceptional measures entailed hardship for the population. It was precisely those who raised their voices or who acted in favour of the poor and oppressed who suffered torture and death. As Christians, we believe that the only true national security is brought about by facilitating the complete and trusting participation of people in the life of their country.

Un relato para la Historia, Brazil: Nunca más. Editora Vozes, Petropolis, 1985)

### Uruguay

The Service for Peace and Justice (SERPAJ) of Uruguay sponsored the publication of *Never Again (Nunca mas)*. It deals with an investigation by a team of lawyers, doctors and human rights specialists based on documented testimonies of human rights violations and the testimonies made before military courts. To ensure greater objectivity to the treatment of the subject, a committee of inquiry was set up to conduct a scientific investigation of "The Extended Prison: The Side of the Detained".

The tradition of civilian government in Uruguayan society, in which a military coup was thought unthinkable, motivated the authors to study 3 periods that correspond to the birth, the strengthening and the end of military totalitarianism; the first looked at the years 1966-72 during which time a civilian government, legitimately elected, ostensibly intending to bring about order in a society overwhelmed by crisis and subversion, injudiciously decreed that unconstitutional measures would be taken in exceptional cases, unwittingly allowing authoritarianism to start permeating everyday life.

The second epoch (1973-79) began when the weakened civilian institutions left the door open to those who already "owned" power to ignore human dignity in the fight against subversion. Then a "dirty war" was openly declared and the country was occupied by its own army which established secret, progressive repression...perfectly chosen until it had total control ... of the population". The country's three million people were classified in three categories: A, B and C, according to the degree of danger they posed to society, in the opinion of the "Combined Forces". A "certificate of faith in democracy" determined a person's ability of finding or losing employment, or whether s/he could enter or leave the country, or the extent to which their movements were monitored. When this period reached its summit the moment arrived that one had to seek permission even to celebrate a birthday! Finally, secure because of the terror they had instilled, the military risked a plebiscite.

The third stage began when the people rejected the proposed Constitution which would have legitimated the military as custodians of National Security. There had already been five years of indiscriminate suffering, and interference with people's liberty and security which served to sustain this "National Security".

By calling whomever they wished "a subversive", they ended up denying that they were human beings. The book is filled with testimonies. The disappeared were denied the right to a place and a date. Torture was used to destroy the person from within.

Francisco Bustamente (coordinator), Uruguay Nunca Más. Informe sobre la violación a los Derechos Humanos (1972-1985), Servicio Paz y Justicia, Montevideo 1989.

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### Paraguay

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The state repression, massacres and persecution during almost 35 years of dictatorship of General Stroessner kept the Paraguayan people paralysed through fear and powerlessness. In such a large period of time the characteristics of the human rights violations are varied and terrible, and those who suffered them - those

who were courageous enough to confront the system - were considered to be "society's lepers", with whom no one wanted to take the risk of speaking or meeting.

The Paraguayan "Committee of the

Churches", one of the Christian institutions

which since the time of the dictatorship assumed the risk of defending human rights, published the book: La Dictadura de Stroessner y los Derechos Humanos. Nunca más. It tells how, like in all totalitarian regimes, the solidarity of the Churches, the opposition and Human Rights organizations with the persecuted was seen as a subversive activity. Right from its inception in 1976, the Committee was not exempt from the harassment and repression of some of its members. To protect the institution's archives against raids and the confiscation and destruction of documents was a major task. It was necessary to duplicate, photocopy and even microfilm documents so that they could be placed in parallel archives in order to outwit the destructive

ods: "The first years of the Dictatorship", "Two decades of Stroessner's Peace" and "The Road to Collapse". Its intention is to provide the historical setting for testimonial documents - kept in the Committee's own archives as well as in those of similar institutions and by individuals, especially lawyers who had direct relations with the victims. It aims to educate around the val-

ues of Human Rights, fundamental to a demo-

cratic ethic, and to vindicate the victims, those

The book is organized into three time peri-

actions of the regime.

who were the "lepers" so that today they will be remembered as authentic heroes who had dared to confront an inhuman regime and who cleared the path for a return to democracy.

José Luis Simón G., La Dictadura de Stroessner y los Derechos Humanos. Nunca más. Comité de las Iglesias, Asunción, Paraguay 1990.

\* Mercosur - the southern part of South America.

### Forgetfulness l

I am reading a novel by Louise Erdrich. At a certain point, a great-grandfather sees his great-grandson for the first time.

The doting great-grandfather is completely senile. (His thoughts are the colour of water.) He smiles as blissfully as his newborn great-grandson. The great-grandfather is happy because he has lost the power of memory that he had. The great-grandson is happy because as yet he has no memory.

There, I think, lies perfect happiness. I myself do not wish for it.

### Forgetfulness 2

Fear dries the mouth, moistens the hands, and cripples. Fear of knowing condemns us to ignorance; fear of doing reduces us to helplessness. Military dictatorship, fear of listening, fear of talking, turned us into deafmutes. Now democracy with its fear of remembering is infecting us with amnesia; but you don'thave to be Sigmund Freud to know that there isn't rug that could hide the dirt of our memories.

3 Monday	<b>4</b> Tuesday	5 Wednesday
Dan 13:1-9,15-17,19-30,33-62 John 8:12-20 976: Victor Bionchenko, Protestant pastor, Argentina 992: Institutional Coup d'Etat by Fujimori in Peru	Numbers 21:4-9 John 8:21-30 1680: Formal abolition of slavery of Indians 1775: The Portuguese Crown both authorizes and encourages marriages between Indigenous, Blacks and Whites 1968: Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee	Dan 3:14-20 John 8:31-42 18:18: Victory of San Martin in Malpú, which seals the independence of Chile 1976: Juan Carlo D'Costa, worker, Paraguay 1992: President Fujimori dissolves Congress, suspends the Constitution and imposes martial law in Peru

55% of couples in the developed regions use some form of family planning; five times as many as in the sixties.

At least 340 million couples around the world do not have access to the array of modern methods for family planning.

It is estimated that there are 40 million abortions worldwide each year, many of them in risky conditions.

Miguel Agricola	John 12:1-1
. •	Isaiah 42:1-
10 Mone	lay

1919: General Emiliano Zapata, chief of the

John 12:1-11

11 Tuesday

John 13:21-33,36-38

12 Wednesday

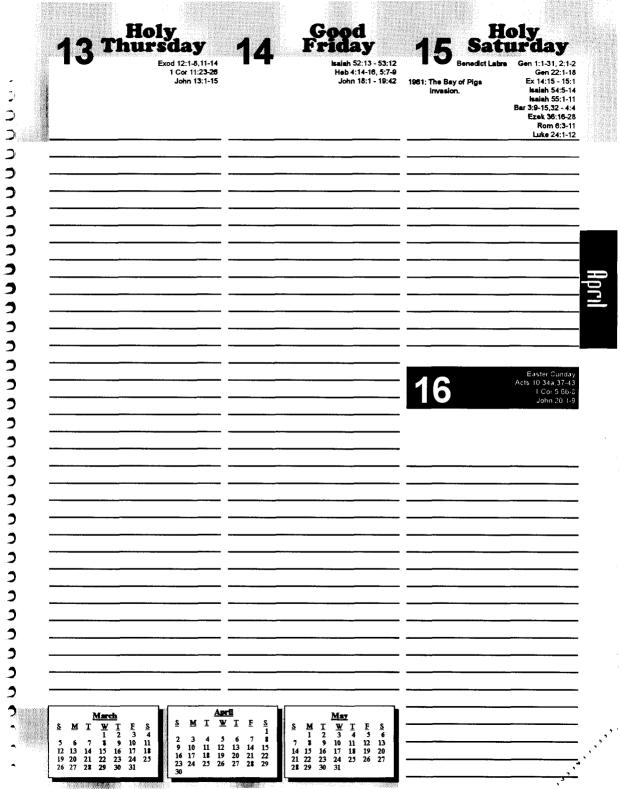
Isaiah 50:4-9a Matt 26:14-25

revolutionary campesinos in Mexico, dies in an ambush	
1985: Oscar Fuentes, student, Chile	
70.101	

Contrary to what the people of Morelos believe, Zapata did not die; he lives. - Carlos Fuentes

The only thing that consoles me is that Christ was also misunderstood, called a revolutionary, and sentenced to die just as I have been. - Oscar Romero, June 3, 1979

In the beginning was the end: The Resurrection! - Pedro Casaldáliga



## Monday

Acts 2:14, 22-23 Matt 28:8-15 7 Tuesday Acts 2:36-41

1980: Juana Tun, mother of Rigoberta Menchú, and her son Patrocinio, killed in El Quiché,

Luke 24:13-35

) Wednesday

1803: Toussaint L'Ouverture, Haitlan patriot, dies in 1925: The U.S. marines land in La Ceiba, a French prison, unattended by doctors Honduras

Guatemala

I do not believe in death without the resurrection. If they kill me, I will arise in the Salvadoran people. Martyrdom is a grace which, I believe, is not merited. But if God accepts the sacrifice of my life, may my blood be the seed of liberty... for the liberation of my people and as a testimony of my hope for the future. If they should kill me, I pardon and bless those who do it. A bishop will die, but the Church og God, which is the people, will never disappear. - Oscar Romero

the Philip 1986: William A	r invades Cuba, Puerto Rico and pines usenault, Canadian missionary killed in Honduras	1985: Pedro Albizu Campos, fighter for the independence of Puerto Rico	land in Brazil 1519: Contés, together with 600 soldiers, 16 horsand a number of artillery pieces arrives in Veracruz, Mexico 1990: Paulo and José Canuto, sons of a labor leader, are assassinated in Brazil
1994			EARTH DAY
			2nd Sunday of East Acts 5 (2)- Rev 1 9-11a (2)-13 (2)-1 John 20 19-0
			1971: Indigenous people in Alaska protest the atomic bomb tests which are contaminating the isle of Anchitiks
	- V <sub>-</sub> (i		

## 24 Monday

Acts 4:23-31 John 3:1-8 Tuesday

1 Pet 5:5b-14

26 Wednesday

Acts 15:17-26 John 3:16-21

Mark 16:15-20 1667: Pedro de Betancourt, franciscan, apostie to 1965: The United States, with 40,000 soldiers, intervenes in the Dominican Republic the poor in Guatemala

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**Friday** Acts 5:34-42 John 6:1-15

1688: A royal decree in Portugal re-establishes

slavery and a just war against the

Indigenous

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5 6 7 12 13 14 19 20 21 26 27 28

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16 23 30

Saturday

Catherine of Sienna John 6:18-21 1991; Moisés Cisneros Rodríguez, a Marist priest, is killed in Guatemala

3rd Sunday of Easter
31d Sunday of Easter Heb 5 27b-32 40b-41 Rev 5 11-14 John 21 1-19
John 21:1-19
 1948: The constitution of the OAS is signed in
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# Zapatista Quotes Upon Which all Latin America Should Reflect

The peace that some people are now seeking has always been war for us.

All the federal soldiers there are could never cover all the roads that our misery took earlier on and which our rebellion takes today.

We want peace with justice, respect, and dignity.
We will no longer live on our knees.

Hope lives in our hearts too.

Our voice began its journey centuries ago and it will never be extinguished.

The use of masks to hide our face is a vaccine against cult of personality.

Here we are: the always dead are dying again but now they die to live.

Enough of dying useless deaths, that is why is better to fight for change. If we die now, it will not be with shame but with dignity, as our ancestors did.

Sentenced to death by NAFTA, the *compañeros* decided to take up arms as an affirmation of life, to demand liberty and democracy.

The detonator in Chiapas was the lack of land.

We want the steps of all who walk in the truth to be united as one. We desire a change. We are seeking a revolution, a new life, a society without so much injustice.

It was the people themselves who said, "let us

start now." The people gave the order to start.

We have but one face and one thought. Our word walks with the truth. We will continue to walk in life and in death. There is no pain in death anymore but there is hope in life. Make a choice.

Death has always been our fate. Now we are deciding to control it.

We do not accept that our country should be sold to foreigners.

We must negotiate a statute of autonomy for the indigenous; whereby our government, our administrative structure, is recognised by the federal government and we can live side by side.

And the oldest of the old people say that the wind, the rain, and the sun tell the *campesino* when to plough the earth, when to sow, and when to harvest. And they say that hope can also be sown and harvested. And the old people say that the wind, the rain, and the sun are talking to the earth in a different way ... that it is time to harvest rebellion. That is what the old people say. The powerful listen but they don't quite hear because they are deafened by all the hatred shouted into their ears by the empire.

Who has to ask for forgiveness and who can give it? Is it those who, for years and years, sat at a full table and were satiated, while death sat with us daily so that it became one of us and we did not fear it anymore?

As Indigenous people we believe and feel that we have the competence to determine our own

destiny. We believe that we are capable of governing ourselves. There is no need for some-body to take us by the hand...

We need our own autonomy as an Indigenous People; we need that identity, that dignity.

We expect a favourable reaction from the whole Mexican society because of the justice of the Cause which began this movement. They might question the means but not the Cause. There

were many of us who burned our bridges that dawn on the first of January when, with masked faces, we set out on this difficult journey. There were a lot of us who knew that there would be no turning back, that in the end we faced a probable death and an improbable success. To seize power? No, something much more difficult: a new world.

For what do we have to ask forgiveness? For what are they going to pardon us? For not dying of hunger? For not keeping quiet in our misery? For not accepting humbly our immense historic burden of scom and negligence? For having shown the rest of the country and the whole world that human dignity is still alive and is found among the poorest?

## Nine Historic Women of the Patria Grande

### María Bartola

A contemporary of the last battles of the Incas against the conquerors, she was the first Mexican historian. She fluently spoke and wrote the language of her elders and Spanish.

"War had already been declared. The Spaniards were already stepping on our land and it was we, the women, who left everything (home, children, the crops) to confront them. We women—mothers, wives, daughters, servants, and queens of Tenochtitlán, Texcoco, Tlacopán, Cuautitlán—we all fought desperately against the conquerors' unquenchable thirst for gold. Many died without protest but with pride, and many more continued the fight."

It is not known how she died but that does not matter, because the manuscripts of this journalist and historian of her people are still kept in Mexico, as a testimony of the resistance to the conquest.

### Azcalxochitzin (Ant's-flower)

Her husband, Netzahualcoyotl (fasting coyote) was a poet and a general of his people. However, he was more a poet than a general. For this reason, Ant's-flower, beautiful, intelligent, and more independent than the Indians allowed their women to be, was the one who organised the first raids against the conquerors in the South of Mexico.

She defended the her people's land until she came to realize that the invaders would overcome any resistance as long as they were mounted on those mythological beings, horses, which until then had been unknown in America. Then she withdrew to meditate and discovered how to win: her people dug holes in the earth with traps in them, covered them with weeds, and then the conquerors on their fiery horses fell in them and were pierced by all the Indian arrows that were hidden there.

She died on the battlefield.

### Micaela Bastidas Puyucahua

She was the bravest and most determined Inca to fight against the invaders. The wife of Tupac Amaru, brilliant and brave, she became a leader of her people and was respected by the Indian chiefs and feared by the invaders. In 1580, when the guerrillas were already organizing in the country-side, this strategist and a stateswoman made it clear to her husband that they had to fight.

as long as it is possible. Neither my women, nor myself will leave any part of the road uncovered. The invaders will have to walk over our dead bodies. Encourage Tupac and do not despair." The invaders prevailed but she died without fear, showing only contempt. She neither asked for mercy nor did she feel sorry for what had happened.

### Anacaona

She advised him not to allow the invaders to rearm themselves after the Lima defeat but Tupac did not listen to her, maybe to prove that Micaela could not manipulate him. As a result his soldiers fell at the hands of the conqueror.

Micaela accepted her fate with pride, "... on the platform, she stands in such a majestic way that is admirable..." and she inspired the women hidden in the mountains to continue the fight which she

had begun.

### Tomasa Titu Condemayta

Her great personality made her the leader of a group of women fighters. They fought tooth and nail to defend the bridges over which the invader had to cross in order to besiege Tupac.

Tomasa saw that there were no more stones nor spears with which to continue the fight. "However," she wrote to her friend Micaela: "I will continue

Anacaona (Gold flower) was
the wife of Caonab, the fiercest and most powerful
enemy of Columbus.
Abducted by the
soldiers, abandoned by the
Admiral, she
managed to escape. She was
very beautiful
and wrote poetry that her
people sang at

their parties.

She was the chief of her people and gave them strength. She organized military resistance groups and defied the first Spaniards with audacity and courage. She died in 1502.

### Imataca

She was an intimate friend of Inca Roca. She understood from the beginning that the war against the invaders would be difficult, that only with strong willpower, a clear understanding and tenacity in battle, would they be able to challenge the Spaniards' military power. She organised the women, took them away from their looms and inculcated in them both a love for freedom and a respect for the land of their elders.

She was a passionate revolutionary. She infiltrated Spanish groups and became a priceless informant. Her people loved and respected her, but they also feared her because of her temperament. her determination and her ability to fight. When her people in [present-day] Venezuela were defeated, she went to [what became] Peru and continued her struggle.

### Erendira

She was a Purépecha princess who, together with her father Timas, a Tangzxhuan monarch, formed a guerrilla army to resist the conquerors.

Cristóbal de Olid, the owner of that land, sent a well equipped army to finish off the Purépechas. Not only were they halted but they suffered a crushing defeat. In their retreat, they left behind a beautiful white horse. Princess Erendira asked for it and learned to ride it better than the Spaniards. Soon after that her people were attacked again. At the height of the battle Erendira appeared on her white horse and, with her spear, killed any invader that crossed her path.

Erendira disappeared into the depths of the forest from where she continued her fight for freedom.

### Policarpa Salavarrieta

She was born in Cartagena de Indias, daughter of a Spaniard and an Indian woman slave. As a child she was treated as a slave. Thanks

to what she learned through her elders' stories, she came to fully accept her Indian status and rejected everything Spanish, putting all her efforts into the

fight for liberation.

When she was taken prisoner by the invaders, she was told that her life would be spared if she would go back to her Spanish family. She replied: "The Indians fighting in the mountains for their land are my family. I am staying with them."

### Serafina

Serafina lived with her tribe on the shores of the River Plate. She was totally submissive to men as was the case with all Querandí Indian women.

But this changed when Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca arrived. Sweet. timid, and obedient, she rebelled against the invaders after Ouerandies had been defeated and chased into the woods.

Serafina, while leading a group of women, was captured and imprisoned. She won the love of a Spanish captain and won him over to the Indian cause. Each of the Indian women that were with her had the same mission: to make the enemy fall in love with them. That way the women conquered the conquerors. Then, when Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, discouraged by hunger, thirst, and the disappointment of not

having found gold, left the coast he discovered that his best men were living with the Querandies and had no intention of

returning with the expedition.

Wednesday Monday Tuesday St. Joseph the Worker Athanasius Acts 7:51-59 Philip and James 1 Cor 15:1-8 Gen 1: 26:2-3 Matt 13:54-58 John 6:30-35 John 14:6-14 1980: Conrado de la Cruz, priest, and Herlindo 1979: Luis Alfonso Velázquez, a 10-year old boy, is 1500: Fray Henrique de Coimbra, the first Cifuentes, catechist, are kidnapped and martyred in Nicaragua. missionary to lay foot on Brazilian soil. murdered in Guatemala. 1981: The Union of Indigenous Nations of Brazil 1985: Sister Cleusa Carolina Coelho is (UNI) is founded. assassinated because of her commitment International Workers Day, in Chicago in 1886 to the indigenous people in the Apostolic workers put in from 14 to 16 hours per day. Prefecture of Labrea, Brazil, Having been 180,000 stopped work seeking an 8 hour day. disappeared several days earlier, her body They were met by force which resulted in 6 was found on this date. dead and 50 injured. They won the 8 hour day. 1991: Felipe Huerte, delegate of the Word, and four companions, martyrs to Agrarian Reform, in El Astillero, Honduras.

From 1982 to 1987 about 250 billion dollars left Latin America for the rich countries. This is 25 times the total value of the Alliance for Progress and 15 times the value of the Marshall Plan. This enormous hemorrhage is part of a complicated system through which westem banks and Latinamerican elites enrich themselves at the expense of the civilian population.

Ciriaco Acts 8:26-40 Monica John 6:44-52  1493: The papal bull inter Caetera, through which the Pope divides the new continent between the Catholic Kings, is proclaimed.  1521: Pedro de Córdoba, the first Dominican missionary to the Americas. The author of the first catechism in the Americas.  1547: Cristóbal de Pedraza, bishop of Honduras, "Father of the Inclans".	Maximus Acts 9:1-20 John 6:53-80 1862: Mexico defeats the French at Pueblo. 1880: Issura Esperanza, "Chaquita", a catechist, member of the Legion of Mary, Identified with the struggles of the people, is martyred in El Salvador.	Heliodoro Acts 9:31-4; John 6:61-7( 1987: Rubén Dario Vallejo, priest, Colombia.
		4th Sunday of Easte Acts 13 14.43-5;
		Rev. 7.9, 14b-17 Augusto, Flavia Domitila John 10.27-30
S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 29 29 29 29 29 29 29 29 29 29 29 29	Y   June	

Tuesday

Wednesday

Acts 12:24 - 13:5a

John 12:44-50 1986: Josimo Morais Tayares, a priest, is killed by

In our voice are the voices of so many more, of those who have nothing, of those condemned to silence and ignorance, of those who have been deprived of their land and history by the arrogance of the powerful, of all those good men and women who travel in this world of pain and hurt, of the children and abandoned old people, of humiliated women, of belittled men.

Monday

	Thursday Anastasius Acts 13:13-25 John 13:16-20  1974: Carlos Mujica, priest, martyr of the people of the "Alilages of misery" in Argentina.  1977: Affonso Naverro, priest, and Luis Torres, aftar server, martyred in El Salvador  1988: The largest military force in Rio de Janeiro since the 1984 Revolution is gathered to intimidate the "March against the Centennial of the Abolition" organized by the black community.	12 Friday Nereus, Achilleus and Pancras Acts 13:26-33 John 14:1-6 A day dedicated to the slave Anastasia, who is a symbol of all black women who have been tortured to death by the white plantation owners. 303: Pope St. Victor, an African, is martyred on this day, He was born in Mauritania, today's Morrocco, Africa. 1980: Walter Voodeckers, a Beigian missionary priest committed to the poor, is martyred in Escuintia, Guatemala	13 Saturday Fatima Acts 13:44-52 John 14:7-14 1888: Stavery is legally abolished in Brazil, after 95% of the blacks had already attained liberty on their own.	
10			5th Sunday of Easter Acts 14 20b-26 Rev 21:-5a John 13 31-33a  1811: Independence of Paraguay, National holiday, 1980: Massacre at the Sumpul River in E Salvedor. More than 600 people die, 1980:Juan Ccaccya Chipena, militant worker, is the victim of political repression in Peru. 1981: Carlos Gélvez Gelindo, priest and martyr in Guatemala. 1988: The martyred peasants of Cayara, Peru.	
		7 18 19 20 11 12 13 14 15 16 17		

James 5:7-8, 11, 16-17 John 15:1-7

1903: General and guerrillo leader, Victoriano Lorenzo, national hero of Panama, is shot in Chiriquí

International Day of Conscientious Objectors. Conscientious objectors are all those people who, because of religious, ethical, moral, nitarian, or similar reasons, refuse to

## Tuesday

Guatemala

Acts 14:18-27 John 14:27-31a

1981: Edgar Castillo, reporter, assassinated in

### Vednesday Acts 15:1-6

John 15:1-8

World Telecommunications Day. Celebrated since 1985 to commemorate the first International Telegraph Convention signed on this date in 1865. It represents a call to generate new sources of communication to

avoid the enormous inequality in the production

military sandce or participate in armed		
military service or participate in armed conflicts.		
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Each week some 550 thousand children are born in the poor countries. Two out of three will live in absolute misery, earning less than 70 cents a day. By the time they reach 14, only one of three will find work, and will likely receive a salary of less than \$40 a month. Three out of five will never learn to read or write. Of these half a million children only 45 will become doctors or engineers.

	8 Thur	rsday 1	9 F	riday	20 Saturday Bensidie of Sierra Acts 16:1-10	
1781: 1895: 1895: 1950:	Erik Trujillo, Honduras, is fot José Gabriel Condocar- Indigenous fighter of Pe decapitated, after havin hanging of his wife, far- followers. He is pulled i forced to run in differen Augusto Calderón Sand José Martí, while fightin ence of Cuba, dies in cr The National Council of meets in Rio de Janeire Héctor Gutiérrez and Ze politicians and christian for the struggles of the	John 15:9-11  anded.  iqui, Tupuc Ameru II,  eru and Bolivia, is g witnessed the nilly members and spart by horses t directions. Into is born. g for the independ- ombat. Black Women b. Imar Michellini, militants, martyrs	Dunstan	John 15:12-17	John 15:18-21 1506:Christopher Colombus dies in Spain.	
					6th Cunday of Easter Acts 15 1-2 22:29 Felicia and Gisela Rev.21.10-14.22:23 John 14:23:29	
					1897: Gregorio Luperón, hero in the Dominican Republic's struggle for independence, died in Puerto Plata. 1981: Pedro Aguilar Santos, priest, martyred in Guatemala. 1991: Jaime Gutlérrez Alvarez, religious, Colombia 1991: Irene McCormack, missionary, Peru	
,	April  M T W T F S  3 4 5 6 7 8  10 11 12 13 14 1: 17 18 19 20 21 22 24 25 26 27 28 29	$\overline{1}$ $\overline{2}$ $\overline{3}$ $\overline{4}$	F S M 5 M 4 3 9 20 11 12	T W T F S 6 7 \$ 9 10 13 14 15 16 17 20 21 22 23 24 27 28 29 30		

Joaquina Vedru Rita de Casia	Desiderio Acts 16:23-34 Ludwig Nommensen John 16:5b-11 1987: Luis Gutierrez, priest, Colombia	Vicente de Lerins Acts: 17:15,22-18:1 Nicholas Copernicus John 16:12-15 1987: Luis Gutierrez, priest, Colombia

In the North things go much better for children. Only one child will be born for every ten born in the South. Each one will consume the equivalent of about 51 inhabitants of Haiti, Burundi or Bangladesh.

1500 children die of hunger or sicknesses caused by hunger every hour.

Bede, Gregory John 16:16-20 1987: Bernardo López Arroyave, Colombian priest, killed by landowners and soldiers.	Philip Neri Acts 18:9-18 Mariana Paredes John 18:20-23a 1986: Independence of Guyana 1969: Enrique Pereira Neto, priest, 28 years, martyred in Recife, Brazil	27 Saturday Augustine of Canterbury Acts 18:23-28 John Calvin John 16:23-28 1975: The Quechus language is made official in Peru 1987: Luis Pérez, priest, Colombia
		Feast of the Ascension Acts 1-11 Ephesians 1-17-23 Emilio and Justo Luke 24-46-53
		·

The worst sin against the Holy Spirit is

- Ana María Tepedino

spiritualization.

Wednesday

Zeph. 3:14-18a Luke 1:39-56

1986: First meeting of Black pastoral agents in the diocese of Duque de Caxias and Sao Joac

1990: Clotario Blest, christian prophet in the union

World Day Without Tobacco. Promulgated by the World Health Organization, to raise consciousness of the harm that tobacco does to our health. In 1970 there were only five countries which banned smoking in public places: Mexico, Poland, Austria, Bulgaria, and Norway, in 1990 there were 57 countries.

Among the charisms the Spirit gives to the people, the bishop finds the cornerstone of his authenticity.

- Oscar Romero, 9.9.79

# I RESIGN; I DO NOT WANT TO BE AN ACCOMPLICE

A letter sent by Pierre Galand, general secretary of Oxfam, Belgium, to the co-presidents of the NGO Working Group on the World Bank.

Dear co-Presidents Mazide and Adams:

On the eve of the 50th anniversaries of the creation of the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions, I wish to withdraw from the NGO Working Group on the World Bank and its Steering Committee.

My action is dictated by intellectual honesty and the honesty vis-a-vis the many friends with whom I work in the Third World.

Having had the opportunity, in the past three years, to observe the Bank's behavior, I wish to join those of my colleagues in NGOs who believe that dissidence alone is the way to justice and coexistence for the peoples of our planet.

I had hoped that, working closely with the NGO WG on the World Bank, we would have made steps in the direction of codeveloping responsibility for the fate of the world's most underprivileged peoples.

This is not the case as poverty increases and hunger kills more surely than war; people needing medical care, young illiterates and the homeless all increase daily in unprecedented numbers.

The remedies prescribed by the World Bank for development are poisoned remedies which actually increase these problems.

In my soul and conscience, I am obliged to say ENOUGH! You have stolen speeches from NGOs concerned with development, eco-development, poverty and popular participation. At the same time your policy of structural adjustment and your actions accelerate the "social dumping" on the South and oblige it to stand starkly alone and defenceless in the world market.

Thanks to you and your colleagues of the IMF, multinational business goes south because you create the conditions

for production at a lower social cost. The result of joint IMF/WB intervention means more pressure on economies to be more competitive and more performing.

Such an objective is reached only by unceasing pressure on governments so that they economise and reduce the social benefits they judge too costly. This means, then, that the only good governments, in your view, are those which accept the prostitution of their economies under the reins of multinationals and powerful international financial groups.

The Bank is a world institution in charge of development; but it is also increasingly arrogant. It has the power, never equalled, to intervene in world affairs and in the domestic affairs of states. It dictates the conditions of development, without having to be responsible for them itself.

The Bank has learned to do excellent analyses and it is capable of saying what is important: popular participation - particularly by women; the popular struggle against poverty; and the necessity to protect the environment.

The Bank goes further, because it defends the principles of human and minorities' rights and puts pressure on governments in this respect. The Bank is itself capable of making these ideas more appealing by saying that these are useful for the development of such or such a group of people.

The question is, then: why are so many beautiful speeches accompanied by such scandalous practices? Because the practice of the Bank is to condition its interventions in the socially criminal policies of structural adjustment.

The Bank is very well informed on poverty, impoverishment and the abandonment of large sectors of the population of our planet. Is this, then, a case of pure cynicism or lying policies?

For my part, I think that the Bank is simply the object of a deep misunderstanding, for the most part among ourselves, because - whatever it may say - the Bank is an instrument at the service of an orthodox model of growth based on competition and not cooperation.

The Bank has the duty to ensure that all - great and small - can participate in the world market.

Very rarely, and certainly NOT nowadays, does growth mean development.

We are at the end of a century where growth and competition have become a means of accelerated and disproportionate enrichment for a minority and have no longer a developmental, cooperative or redistributive effect.

Inequalities are increasingly sharp. The hungry die without causing revolt or indignation.

As long as the Bank maintains its unfeeling policy of structural adjustment, we must all mobilise - not only ourselves but also the greatest number possible of victims - to fight against this type of intervention.

After having participated in a dialogue with the Bank for three and a half years, as a member of the Working Group, I offer my resignation from this group because it has become clear to me that there is no way to humanize the Bank.

Africa is dying, but the Bank is getting richer; Asian and Eastern Europe are seeing their riches pillaged...and the Bank supports the IMF's and the GATT's initiatives to authorize this material and intellectual pillage. Latin America - like other continents - sees, with horror, its children used as reserves for labor or, worse still, as living organ donors for the new market for transplants in North America.

The Bank's speeches on the unavoidable sacrifices related to the structural conversion needed for economic and market globalization might be, somehow, the unavoidable "desert crossing" in order to reach the Eden of development.

I refuse to be part of this unavoidable fatalism preached by the Bank and prefer to participate in the reinforcement of organizations of landless peasants, street children, shelters for women who refuse to sell their bodies in cities in Asia, and the workers and unions who struggle against the pillage of their resources and the dismantling of their capacity to produce.

I know through long experience that there are many friends in the NGOs who think that a dialogue with the Bank is a good means for changing this institution's behavior towards a better understanding of the demands of cooperation and develop-

ment.

I respect their position, as I respect the attitude of those in the Bank who hope that a dialogue with NGOs will bring about change in the analyses and initiatives of the Bank.

After my long experience with the Working Group, I leave before the end of my term because I refuse to be an accomplice of the Bank.

My wishes to the Bank at the end of 1993 are simple: 50 years are enough. You are one of the principal enemies of the poor and the rights they have defended in the context of the United Nations.

You are, today, a most incredible and extraordinary public relations machine which has imposed on the world a disastrous feeling of fatalism regarding the development which is reserved for the few and the inevitable poverty for those who are considered not to be sufficiently competitive and performing.

The relaunching of a development economy which promotes social justice by way of access of the greatest number to a just wage urgently forces us to find another institution. The institution which replaces you must allow people to participate and be the beneficiaries of actions which give them back their dignity, allows them to feed themselves and gives them the right to diversity in co-development.

In withdrawing from the Group I salute my colleagues for whom I still have respect, as I keep my appreciation for the numerous employees of the institution which is the World Bank.

Only a reorganization and a new struggle for the transformation of the United Nations and the Bretton Woods Institutions will be capable of creating new conditions for the war on hunger and the solidarity of co-development.

Yours sincerely,

Pierre Galand,

### <u>Interview with Monsignor Romelus</u>

- Jean-Claude Noyé

As the opposition's sole clear voice, 63 year old Willy Romelus, the bishop of Jérémie, is a major figure in the resistance against Haiti's military dictatorship. An official Nobel Peace Prize nominee and a known defender of human rights, he has been the subject of harassment and several attacks since the coup overthrowing Aristide.

#### What hope is there for Haiti today?

There are no signs of change from the junta. Humanly speaking, no solutions can be foreseen for the near future.

#### What is the Haitian Church doing?

Since the coup, the Church

sis: the murdering had ceased, corruption was being fought and money started to flow into the state's coffers.

#### Is the Church persecuted?

in favour of the coup say the opposite—but

that's false. Those months were like an oa-

Yes, it's difficult to celebrate

hierarchy, the bishops and the nuncio have done nothing serious to solve the economic crisis. Nevertheless, there are opposition voices, such as the Haitian Committee of Religious and the Justice and Peace Episcopal Commission. Most of the priests are with the people.

Are the bishops so passive because of their opinion Aristide?

Yes, that's the problem. They did, however, use more moderate language after his presidential candidacy. I wish to strongly emphasize that the seven months during which Aristide exercised power were positive. Those

religious ceremonies if they are labelled political demonstrations. In January 1993, on the day when new priests were to be ordinated, soldiers came and attacked us. A few seminarists were arrested. In general, army targets campesinos, youth and social justice groups.

Could Father Aristide really save the country given its difficult economic situa-

If he receives good advice... why not? He's not a politician, but his overall record is good. Besides, I know that there are capable Haitians. In any case, the people see him as their leader. He doesn't act out of personal inter-

est-for money or for power-he's motivated

by his ideals.

#### Why has the Pope remained silent?

His actions are no doubt explained by canonical law which forbids priests to run for public office. However, an exception in Aristide's case would be fully justified. I also believe that the Holy Father has received biased and even false information from the bishops and the nuncio.

### What exactly is the situation concerning divisions in the Haitian Church?

If all were going in the same direction, the problem would be solved. In reality, unity is difficult. It would be possible if those who had taken the wrong path returned to the right one... As it happens, I am quite alone as a bishop.

### What do you think about the Nobel Peace Prize nomination?

Whether or not this could help the country is what matters. I think it might. Otherwise, it's of no importance.

#### Have you been threatened?

Yes, but that won't silence me. They disconnected my telephone claiming that it was defective. In reality, they wanted to prevent my communicating with the outside world. Nevertheless, I continue to speak out.

# What do you think is the solution for the future?

Aristide's return. It's what the people want. It's the only solution for democracy and the future. But, it won't be easy; the army controls everything and has lots of money. It maintains its power through brute force and

does not hesitate to kill. Nevertheless, it's sensitive about its image in the press. The proof is that I am still alive.

#### The River of Oblivion

The first time that I went to Galicia, my friends took me to the river of Oblivion. My friends told me that in the long-gone time of the Roman Empire the imperial legions had tried to invade Galicia, but they had not crossed the river; frozen with fear, they had stopped at its edge. And they had never crossed the river of Oblivion, because whoever reaches its farther side no longer knows who he is or where he comes from.

I was beginning my exile in Spain, and said to myself, "IF the waters of a river are enough to efface memory, what will happen to me, the ship-wrecked survivor of an ocean crossing?" But I had been travelling through the little towns of Ponteverde and Orense, and had discovered bars and cafes called Uruguay or Venezuela or Mi Buenos Aires Querido, and little restaurants serving Latin American dishes like barbecued meat or "arepas"; and everywhere there were Peñarol and Nacional and Boca Juniors team pennants. This was all because of the Galician emigrants who had come back from South America, and were now suffering from a second homesickness. They had left their villages, exiles

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like myself, although it was the economy and not the police that had chased them away. After many years they were back in their native land, and they had never forgotten anything. Not when they left, not while they were away, not when they returned. They had forgotten nothing. And now they had two sets of memories and two countries.

`\*<sub>\*</sub>

1573: Brutal execution of Chief Tanamaco

1981: First recorded case of AIDS diagnosed in Los

(Venezuela).

Angeles, USA

Tuesday

Wednesday

Tobias I:la, 2:2,I-9 Mark 12:1-12 Tobias 2:10-23 Mark (2:3-17

1940: Death of Marcus Garvey, Jamaican-born black leader who inspired the Pan-African movement.

1980: José Ribeiro, leader of the Apuriña nation of Brazil, assassinated.

Tobias 3:I-II, 24-25 Chief Seattle Mark (2:18-27

1494: Spain and Portugal sign the Tordesillas Treaty dividing the Atlantic Ocean between them.

1978: Organization of the United Black Movement begins.

	DIAZII, ASSASSII METCU.	Degins.
World Environment Day, first proclaimed in 1972. It is estimated that since 1900 half of the plane's wetlands have disappeared. They have been drained for agriculture, de-forested for the sake of their wood, or cleared for urban		i990: Sister Filomena López Filha, apostle of the Nueva iguaçú favelas, assassinated.
development or tourist projects.		
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Since AIDS was first diagnosed on June 5th, 1981, 15 million cases have been recorded, 10 million of them in Africa. During 1993, a million and a half Africans contracted the AIDS virus. Nearly 60% of new cases involve young people from 15 to 25 years of age. By the year 2000, there are expected to be more than 5 million women infected with AIDS.

unexpi receive for the	Luis Dalle of Ayaviri, Per ained circumstances, aff ad death threats because	ark I2:28b-34 u, dies in u, dies in the having of his option G 1971: Hé na. gi 1979: Jus th 1981: Tool		her" of the Venezue 34 years, of Santa his life for	Tobias I2:1,5-15,20 Mark I2:38-44 Jestroy the Cumaná Mission in Ha, built by Las Casas.
					Trinity Sunday Proverbs 8 22-31 Romans 51-5 John 161245
					ganizer, ismael Enrique Pineda, partions martyred in El Salvador.
<u>S</u> <u>M</u> T	Msy W T F S 3 4 5 6	<u>June</u> S M T W T F 1 2	S M T W T	<u>F</u> § 1	

12 Monday 2 Cor I:1-7 Gaspar Matt 5:1-12 8: Joaquin Neves Norte, lawyer for the Naviraí Rural Workers' Union of Paraná, Brazil, assassinated.	Anthony of Padua	2 Cor I:18-22 Matt 5:13-16 19:		Cor 3:4-l lett 5:17-l ivia and
atients suffering from AIDS take up from			We ask, "God where are you?" And	God,

The prickly pear is only seen when it bears fruit. Mexican proverb

40-70% of hospital beds in Uganda and Tan-

answer, asks us,"Where is your brother, where is your sister?" - Pedro Casaldáliga

1932: Beginning of the Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay. 1952: Victor Sanabria, Archbishop of San José, Costa Rica, founder of Catholic Action, champion of social justice. 1987: Security forces in Santiago, Chile, assassinate 12 people in an operation known as the "slaughter of Corpus Christi" or "Operation Albania."	1976: Soweto Massacre, South Africa. 700 children are assassinated because of their refusal to study Afrikaans, the language of their oppressors.  1978: Signing of the Torrijos-Carter Panama Canal Treaty.	Matt 5:33- 1703: Birth of John Wesley, England. 1991: End of apartheld laws in South Africa.
1989: Teodoro Santos Meljia, priest, Peru.		
		Corpus Chris Zach 12:40
		Gal 3 26-2 Luke 9 (8-2
	·	
		Transition stays of the state o
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#### Wednesday Monday Tuesday 2 Cor 6:1-10 2 Cor 8:1-9 2 Cor 9:6-11 Matt 5:38-42 Matt 5:43-48 Onesimo Nesbid Matt 6:1-6,16-18 1820: Death of Manuel Belgrano, one of modern 1764: Birth of José Artigas, Uruguayan rebel Andean New Year. Argentina's founding fathers. leader and agrarian reformer. 1821: Bolivar's triumph in Carabobo. 1867: Execution of Maximilian, the Emperor whom Mexico was obliged to accept. 1923: Assassination of Doroteo Arango, the Mexican revolutionary general known as Pancho Villa. 1979: Rafael Palacios, priest, gives his life for the Salvadoran base communities. African Refugees' Day

They have said to me that I have said a saying, a saying that I have not said, and which, if I had said it, would be a better saying than the saying that they have said that I have said (tongue

When the offering is very large, even the Saint is mistrustful.

- Brazilian saying.

#### 26 Monday

Gen I2:I-9 Matt 7:I-5

i54i: Violent death of Pizarro. i822: Historical meeting in Guayaquil, Ecuador, of

San Martin and Boliver. 1945: Founding of the United Nations (50th

Anniversary). 1987: Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Mexico set up.

International Drug Awareness Day - Against drug use and drug trafficking. To promote a rewarding life-style, free of the narcotics which have our health and threaten our children's future.

#### 27 Tuesday

Gen i3:2,5-l8
Cyril of Alexandria Matt 7:8,I2-l4

I552: The Dominicans, Santo Tomás and Tomás de San Martin, first bishops of Bolivia and defenders of the Indians.

1986: The international Court of Justice at the Hague finds the United States guilty of violating international law by reason of its aggressive acts against Nicaragua.

#### 28 Wednesday

Gen 15:1-12,17-18 Irenaeus Matt 7:15-20

1918: Landing of U.S. marines in Panama. 1954: Overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz, democraticallyelected President of Gustemala, organized by the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

1980: The Brazilian government welcomes European immigrants but rules that prospective immigrants from Africa and Asia must have special congressional authorisation.

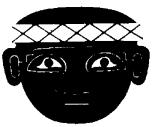

According to the Catholic agency, FIDES, in 1993, 9 priests, 6 monks, 4 nuns, a diocesan seminarist and a papal assistant were assassinated in Third World countries and Bosnia. Among them were the Mexican Cardinal Juan J. Posadas and the Salvadoran Bishop Roberto J. Ramos. 9 of the assassinations were in Burundi. The remainder took place in Colombia, El Salvador, Bosnia, Angola, Brazil, the Ivory Coast, India, Mexico, and Zaire.

29 Thursday Peter & Paul Acts 12:1-1 2 Tim 4:64 Matt 16:13-1	Juan Olof Wallin Matt 8:1-4	Saturday  Eph 2:19-22  John 20:24-29  1887: The Confederation of Canada. National  Holiday.  1974: Juan Perón, Argentinian president, dies  1981: Tulio Maruzzo, Italian Franciscan priest, and  Luis Navarrete, catechist, martyred in  Guatemala
		13th Cunday of Ordinary Time 1 kings 19.16b 19-21 Gal 4.31 - 5.1.13-18 Luke 9.51-62  1617: Rebellion of the "tupinambas" in Brazil 1991: The African National Congress, South
		Africa, holds its first legal conference in thirty years
May       S     M     T     W     T     E     S       1     2     3     4     5     6       7     8     9     10     11     12     13     14     5     6       14     15     16     17     18     19     20     11     12     13       21     12     22     23     24     25     26     27     18     19     20       28     29     30     31     31     33     31     32     33     34	S M T W T E S 1	

### Sacred Sites of the Indigenous Peoples

- Clodomiro Siller A.

Thousands of years ago, when our ancestors lived in caves and grottos, they represented God as Fire. Fire kept the cave livable, and perhaps for that reason became a symbol of life. The community met around the fire to prepare and to share food and to listen to the elders recount their communal history and the deeds of those who had served the community. They believed that all these aspects of the life of the community were a reality that was larger than them, and that the reason they stayed together was that God was present within them all. To share food was to be in harmony with the Being that had



given them life as individuals and as a group. When the elders told their stories they knew that they were repeating what God willed for them as a people. Even today, if there

is a drought and the rains do not come, many communities make a sacred pilgrimage to the caves, light fires within them and carry out ceremonies and sacrifices, asking God to give them rain and life. Almost always, after the rites have been carried out, the first tremors begin.

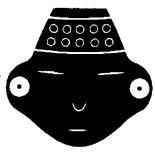
Paintings of the first representations of sacred experience can be found in many caves, such as the handprints of those who lived at that time, and circles, representing the cave, with God in the centre. The caves also shelter the bodies of our ancestors, who were buried covered with flowers, and with food, pitchers of water, and other items placed near them to help the deceased on his or her final journey to the home of He-who-is-greater-than-us, Xiutecúhtli,

Lord of Fire. Symbolized by that element, Xiutecúhtli was also called, in the most ancient form of address, Huehuetéotl, the Old God.

Group life was also carried out in the countryside, where the main activities were hunting and gathering. Life came directly from the earth, and from all sources of water. These elements became representations of the relationship between God and life. God was referred to as Water, as Rain, as Earth, and was represented primarily by feminine, life-giving symbols. God was also represented as Wind. She was the mediatrix between the earth upon which the people walked and the sky at which they gazed. Thus, mountains, plains and valleys became sacred sites. Certain mountains, parts of vallevs, and areas around bodies of water were marked out and became temples where the people congregated to celebrate their meeting with God. Today some communities still go to celebrate in the mountains, on the plains, and by sources of water. They prepare a flat space and on it they make sacrifices, dance or die during the day or night. These celebrations help them transcend the mundane in their lives.

Homes were also sacred places for each family. In them, they held ceremonies which did not include the whole community but which they felt

were necessary to celebrate their experiences as individuals or families in contact with the presence or will of God. Shelves, tables or walls were dedicated specifi-



cally to ritual practices in the home. Later, altars of many forms were built, where relics were collected from important sacred places. This

press the multitude of religious experiences that they had created from a single divinity.

linked homes with other larger sacred sites. These altars are still present in homes of indig-

Often cities were built around ancient sacred sites Places of worship were almost always

found at the centre of these cities. Great monu-

ments dedicated to the Sun (which with the Earth

and the Moon were the most representative sym-

bols of God), would be found in the east. At one of these places, in La Venta, Tabasco, Mexico, the most ancient ancestors of our Meso-American culture built a huge temple that is neither

The

square, circular, rectangular nor cone-shaped, but built in sections. We all remember Tiahuanaco, in Bolivia, with its plazas, patios and temples, and the gateway where the setting Sun was hailed by the people who would congregate in immense sunken

patios. Temple of the Sun in Machu Pichu, Peru. where according to legend God descended on the powerful wings of the Condor, was positioned exactly in the path

of the sun's rays. Deep in the heart of the Petén jungle, the Maya of

ages to other sacred places, such as Kaminal

Guatemala erected an immense ceremonial city that we know as Tikal, where religious people and communities from the entire ancient world of Mesoamerica would meet. The Maya who built it also made pilgrim-

gious experiences from the most ancient times. When the first Christian missionaries in the sixteenth century saw the richness of expression and representation that the indigenous people had to describe God, they thought that our peoples were polytheists. However, we possess many chronicles, texts and myths from the in-

enous people in the form of simple tables

adorned with flowers, cut paper and images that

reveal their inhabitants' experience of the sa-

When the cultures of some communities became more complex, and human groups were

organized into cities or city-states, the people

began constructing squares, houses of worship,

and buildings that were dedicated almost exclu-

sively to celebrating the religious experience of

the community. In addition to being sacred sites,

these buildings were beau-

tiful architectural monu-

Along with a more com-

plex social structure, a re-

ligious philosophy devel-

oped. As with almost all

the peoples of our conti-

nent, our theology and sa-

cred sites represent much

more than the religious

thought of this latest epoch,

as they are built upon reli-

cred.

ments.

digenous tradition of that time which show the

exact opposite. The different "gods" are simply different names that enabled our peoples to exJuyú, Guatemala. Today we are still amazed by the fact that the Temple of Quetzalcóatl in Chichén Itzá was designed using calculations from astral space, instead of from its actual site in the Yucatán, Mexico. Its architects positioned it in relation to the movement of the earth around the sun, so that at the sunset of the spring equinox, the shadows of its bulk project a luminous serpent that slowly descends the temple from the summit, until it reaches the ground at precisely the day and hour that the rains begin in that region.

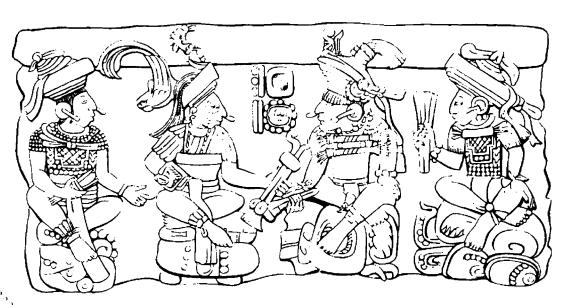
Sun, Rain, Earth, Humanity, all signify the presence of God among us. In Tonina, in the heart of the Ocosingo forest of Chiapas, Mexico, the greatest building in the ancient and modern world was recently discovered: the Temple of the Sun. From its heights, the playing field for the game of pelota at its foot seems no larger than two palm widths. Quetzalcoatl is represented here in an enormous mosaic of limestone: at the summit, God is represented as the Sun, rising in the morning from the open mouth of Mother Earth.

In Konoquia Mounds, Illinois, U.S.A., when

excavations began for the construction of a residential neighbourhood, the remains of what was an enormous temple resembling the Pyramid of the Sun in Teotihuacán, Mexico were discovered. The indigenous people who built this sacred site were following in the footsteps of the architects who fled when Teotihuacán was destroyed in 900 AD. They spoke of God as *Usen*, The "Great Spirit", thus bringing a new contribution to the deep river of our continent's ancient religions.

In Teotihuacán, the Temple of the Sun is to the east of the Temple of the Moon, at the end of a five-kilometre-long avenue. At the top of the larger structure dedicated to the Sun is a representation of God as the Lord of Water, Tláloc. On the Temple of the Moon is another representation of God, symbolized as Chalchiutlicue, the Lady of the Springs, "The-Lady-Dressed-In-Emeralds."

Anyone who has ever been to Tula, the main religious centre of the Toltecs in Mexico, has certainly experienced the profound religiosity of those who carved the great sculptures of *Tlahuicanpantecúhtli*, the "Lord of the Rising



Sun." The name is actually a sublime manner of speaking of the continuous renewing of the divine in history. *Tlahuicanpantecúhtli* is represented over and over by enormous blocks of stone that support the breast of Papáotl, the "Butterfly," the spirit who transcends all.

In the indigenous world there are an infinite number of sacred sites. The Mexican National Institute of Anthropology has catalogued over 600, solely on the coast of the gulf of Mexico. And on the Yucatán peninsula? The Altiplano? The valleys and lowlands of Oaxaca? In the Huastecas? In Honduras, Colombia, Ecuador? The jungles and rivers of the Amazon? What of the immense regions and human populations of the Southern Cone that lose themselves in the frozen Antarctica or the enormous Northern polar cap? We cannot catalogue all these regions. But we know for certain that the planet, the earth, the plot of land, the springs, the rivers and lakes, the air and the sky, the home, the place of worship, the square, the temple, and many personal and communal activities, both social and political, were sacred to our ancestors. But as Nezahualcóyotl, the greatest poet and priest of our ancestors put it: (translation)

I looked for the spirit of God in the temple and did not find it

I looked for the spirit of God in philosophy but it is not there

I looked in the country and did not find it

I found it in the human being

It is in the heart of my brother.

All the earth and the space of our continent is sacred. But the most important sacred "place" for the indigenous peoples both past and present is a humanity "worthy of the presence of God," the *Macehualme*. God is for humanity, and is in

and of it. In human form, God is the Lord of Tula, Quetzalcóatl, for the Mesoamericans; Wiracocha for the Quichua; Christ for the Christians. It is always the same God. God is Tzintéotl or divine corn; humans are made from Earth and Sun and Water, signs and presence of God. God continually gives birth to humanity and nurtures it. God is "incarnated" in many ways. And all these ways and places are sacred.

#### **Future Traditions**

There is one place where yesterday and today meet, greet, and embrace each other, and that place is tomorrow.

Some voices from the remote American past sound as though they come to us from the future. Take, for instance, the ancient voices that are still telling us that we are the earth's children and that mothers are not to be sold or rented. While clouds of dead birds rain over Mexico City, rivers become sewers and seas garbage dumps, and jungles turn into deserts, these voices, obstinately alive, promise us a different world - a world which poisons neither the water nor the soil, neither the air nor the soul.

The ancient voices which speak to us of community also proclaim another possible world. The community, the communal mode of production and of life, is the original tradition of the Americas, the tradition that is rooted in the American land. It belongs to the earliest times and to the earliest peoples, but it also belongs to the future and foreshadows a New World.

Because in this land of ours there is nothing less alien than socialism. On the contrary, it is capitalism which is alien. It was brought, like smallpox and influenza, from elsewhere.

Gen I8:18-23 Thomas Matt 5,18-22 The Alfonso Arinos Law, making racial, ethnic, or religious discrimination a criminal offence, is passed in Brazil.	Isabel of Portugal Gen 19:15-29 Matt 8:23-27 i776: United States Independence Day, national holiday.	Antonio Maria Zaccaria Gen 21:5, Matt 8:21 Bil: Venezuelan Independence Day, national holiday. 920: Bolivia orders the handing over of land to indigenous people. 98I: Emeterio Toj, indigenous campesino, kidhapped in Guatemala.		

- Augusto C. Sandino

- Augusto C. Sandino

they are rotten and foul-smelling.

	Maria Goretti II5: Death of Jan Huss in Cz I43: Nazaria Ignacia March	Viesa, founder of the	1976: Arturo Bernal, Christian campesino le the Agrarian Leagues, dies under to	I-8,62-67 Gen 27:I-5,I5-29 fatt 9:I-3 Eugenio, Adriano,Priscilla Matt 9:I-47 eader of I538: Violent death of conquistador Diego de	
	Church Crusades dies which established the union in Latin America She was beatified on S	first women's trade in Oruro, Bolivia.	Paraguay.		
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- -				Hith Cunday of Ordinary Time Rosailo de Chiquinquira Isaiah 68 (0-4c Gal 614-0 Luke 101-12	
_				ISI6: Argentinian independence Day, national holiday. IS2: San Martin proclaims Peruvian independence. ISS0: Joaquin Natuco founds the Brazilian Arti-	
_				Slavery Society, which campaigned both on the streets and within social organizations.	
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- -	June	July	August		-
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# 10 Monday Christopher Gen 26

omise pro-

Gen 28:10-22 Matt 9:18-26

1509: Birth of Calvin in France.

1973: Bahamian Independence Day, national holiday.

1980: Faustino Villanueva, Spanish priest, shot to death in his parish office. He gives his life for the indigenous people of El Quiché, Guatemata.

The pot that boils either burns or spills.

- Mexican saying

#### 11 Tuesday

holiday

Gen 32:22-32 Matt 9:28-32

1968: American Indian Movement (United States)

founded.
1973: Independence of the Bahamas. National

World Population Day. A day to consider global demographic problems. In mid-1882 the world population was 5.45 billion. In 1998 it will reach 6 billion. After that, there will be an average annual population increase of 97 million people.

### 12 Wednesday

Gen 4l:55-57, 42:5-7,l7-24c Natán Söderblom Matt l0:1-8

1975: Independence Day of São Tomé and Principe, former Portugese colonies. 1976: Aurelio Rueda, priest, gives his life for the slum-dwellers of Colombia.

The shrimp that falls asleep is carried away

- Nicaraguan saying.

by the current.

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The older the child, the more trouble he

causes.

- Brazilian saying

	Gen 44:18-21,23b-29, 45:1-5 Matt 10:7-45 Fernando Hoyos, Jesuit missionary, and Chepito, I5-year-old altar boy, martyred in Guatemala. Natividad Quispe, an indigenous woman, 90 years of age, martyred in Peru.	14 Friday Gen 46:1-7,28-30 Camilo de Lelis Matt 10:6-23 168: Francisco Solano, Franciscan missionary to the Indigenous in Peru. 1630: The first ordinances protecting the Indians are published in Paraguay by Hernandarias.	Bonaventure Gen 49:29-33, 50:15-25 Vladimir Matt 10:24-33 1535: Conquistador Diego de Almagro reaches Collasuyo, Chile. 1972: Héctor Jurado, Methodist minister is tortured and gives his life for the people of Uruguay. 1976: Rodoffo Lunkenbein, missionary, and Lorenzo Simão, Bororo chief, give their lives for the indigenous people of Brazil. 1981: Missel Ramirez, campesino community organizer, dies for the cause of justice in Colombia. 1991: Julio Quevedo Quezada, catechist in the diocese of El Quiché, assassinated by the Gustemalan security forces.
			15th Sunday of Ordinary Time Deut 30 10-14 Col 115-20 Luke ID 25-37 1750: José Gumilla, missionary and defender of
			the Indians, who worked for the preserva- tion of indigenous languages in Venezuela.
18	1 2 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 2 3 4 5 12 13 14 15 16 17 9 10 11 12 19 20 21 22 23 24 16 17 18 19	Y T F S S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 5 6 7 8 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19	

### 17 Monday

Exodus 18-14,22
Bartolomé de las Casas Matt 9:8-26
1566: Bartolomé de las Casas, 82 years, first priest to be ordained in the Americas, Latin American prophet, defender of the cause of Indians and of Blacks.

### 18 Tuesday

Amulfo Ex Federico I

Exodus 2:1-15a Matt II:20-24

1872: Death of the great Benito Juárez, of Zapotecan descent, who overthrew Emperor Maximilian and ended the French incursion into Mexico.

1976: Carlos de Dias Murias and Gabriel Longueville, priests, are found dead after having been kidnapped in La Rioja, Argentina.

#### 19 Wednesday

Exodus 3:I-6,9-12 Arsenio Matt II:25-27

1824: Augustin de Iturbide, Emperor of Mexico, executed by firearms.

1979: Triumph of the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua.

1983 Yamilet Sequiera Cuarte, Nicaraguan catechist.

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I would rather die in open combat with the invader and lose your love than allow you, myself and our children to survive in the dis-

grace to which only cowards and waverers can resign themselves.
- Augusto C. Sandino

I have placed love for my country above all other loves, and you must convince yourself that only if the light of liberty shines upon us can we be happy together.

- Augusto C. Sandino

1810: 1978:	Royal decree had been be set free and Colombian Ind Mario Muljia pastoral lay workers of 0 Massacre of 3 children, and	ordering rought to I sent bac lependenc Córdoba, person, g Guatemal 00 people	Spain a k to the se Day, n worker plyes his a. includir	Mat indians s siave indies ational , teache s life fo	s to be holiday. er, r the	1984: \$ 1987: /	fighter Brasile Sergio Semin Jejand	for the da (AC Alejan arian. ro Lab nary, I	e rights C), Braz dro Orti vaca, Vi	heiro, t of poor il, assa iz, Guat cario de	rade un campe ssinate emalar	sinos in d.	1980: Jorge ( Presid Carlos	lent of YCS	2 0 Assumpti , Raúl Roo	Cant 3:I Corinthans 5 John 20:I-2 onist price triguez and ns, disappea	5:14-17 2,11-18 ex-
													23	lSt	h Sunday	of Ordinary Gen 18 Col I 2 Luke 10 3	1-10a 24-28
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### 24 Monday

Exodus 14:5-18 Matt 12:38-42 25 Tuesday Acts 4:33, 5:12,17b-33, 12:1b-2

**26** Wednesday Joachim and Ann Eccl. 44:1,10-15

continent. The United States bombs Ocotal, Nicaragua, hours after their forces had been

driven from the town by the army of General

Matt 13:16-17

2 Cor 4:7-15 Matt 20:20-28

1503: Chief Quibian destroys the city of Santa Maria, Panama, founded by Columbus. 1927: First serial bombing on the American

1783: Birth of Simón Bolívar in Caracas 1985: Ezequiel Ramim, defender of landless squatters in Cocoal, Roraima, Brazil, assassinated.

1524: City of Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala founded.

1587: Santiago de León de Caracas, Venezuela, formded

1901: The United States forces Cuba to accept the Platt Amendment granting it the right to establish the U.S. military base at Guantánamo and to intervene in Cuban domestic affairs.

1958: Puerto Rico is proclaimed a Commonwealth affiliated to the United States.

1953: The attack on the Moncada Barracks in Cuba, led by Fidel Castro.

Augusto Sandino.

1980: José Othomaro Cáceres, seminarian, and I3 companions martyred in El Salvador. 1981 Angel Martinez Rodrigo, Spanish, and Raoul Legere, Canadian, lay missionaries and catechists, martyred in Guatemala.

29 Saturday
Martha Exochus 24.4 Friday **Thursday** Exodus 19:1-2,9-11,16-20b Exodus 20:1-17 Matt 13:18-23 Olaf Matt 13:24-30 Matt 13:10-17 Johann Sebastian Bach Heinrich Schütz 1991: Eliseo Castellano, priest, Puerto Rico. Joseph Frederick Handel 1821: Peruvian Independence Day, national holiday. 1980; 70 campesinos massacred in San Juan Cotzai, Guatemala. 17th Cunday of Ordinary Time Gen 18 20-32 Col 2 |2-14 Luke II I-I3 1502: Columbus reaches Honduras. I&II: Miguel Hidalgo, parish priest of Dolores, the hero of Mexican Independence, is executed by firearms. 1957: Frank Pais, student leader, lay director of the Second Baptist Church of Cube, and Cuben revolutionary, is gunned down by the police force of the dictator Batiste. <u>w</u> <u>T</u> <u>F</u> 2 9 ₩ 2 9 <u>M</u> <u>T</u> <u>s</u> 3 <u>F</u> <u>s</u> 9 5 12 10 11 12 15 22 29 17 24 31 ñ 12 13 14 17 10 11 13 14 15 13 14 15 22 18 19 16 21 28 18 19 20 21 23 17 18 19 25 26 20 27 22 29 21 23 23 24

### Observing the Elections

#### Heat, Dust, Weariness and Inspiration

#### - Sharon DiFruscia

As the time approached for my departure to El Salvador I questioned my usefulness to the people there during such a crucial period in their struggle for democracy. I, who have no formal eduction in political analysis and a limited command of the Spanish language, who am I to presume I could take on the role of an "international observer"? A role that has a two-fold purpose: firstly to be a support to the people and secondly to give to the world an unbiased, accurate account of the democratic process in Salvador. However, with all my limitations and doubts, I found myself standing in the airport of San Salvador determined to be as effective as possible.

I had one week to garner knowledge of the voting procedure and what was expected of me in this process. As the days progressed, the training intensified and my fears were beginning to fade. As we trained with forty other "internationals" from Canada, Australia, Guatemala and the United States, I came to realize we were all very ordinary people sent on an extra-ordinary mission, and somehow we did have a place and a part in this important event. Apart from the training, a major cause of my growing confidence was the people. They were genuinely pleased to see internationals and they advised us to keep our eyes opened and assured us of the importance of our presence in their country. As we sat in on voter education workshops in Base Communities we were energized by the strength and determination of the people.

Now equipped with essential information, Caryn Kewell (our vital link to understanding the language), Dennis Stimpson and I were designated to our observation posts. Caryn was assigned to Usulutan, Dennis and I to Morazan. Our link was broken; Dennis and I would have to struggle with the language on our own. We also learned that we were the only two who would not have transportation and accommodation provided for us. We travelled for five hours, on crowded buses, in the back of pick-up trucks, in flat-bed trucks and on foot. Tired and dissolute, we arrived at our lodgings - a small dark hut with a candle for light. Our tiredness disappeared and our spirits lifted as we met with the local people. We had the opportunity to discuss the obstacles they encountered in the registration process and the hopes they had in the outcome. Back in the hut we fell asleep anticipating tomorrow.

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With an hour and a half walk to the polls, we arose at 4am in order to witness the opening procedure scheduled for 6am. We were greeted with people anxious to exercise their right to vote and with much chaos. For nine hours we sat in the heat. observing the confusion and irregularities of the Salvadoran electoral process. Five o'clock arrived, their polls closed and the real confusion began. The Electoral Junta (who were ill-informed, untrained and poorly educated) now had the task of counting the ballots, filling out forms, and balancing votes. All this was done in the dark with only one flashlight. As the votes were being counted, they looked to me for confirmation of the ballot. They were not sure of the regulations regarding the marking of the ballots. Five hours later they were still trying to make sense out of the numerous forms, still trying to figure out what forms went in what envelopes, where the uncast ballots went, et cetera. In desperation they looked at me and asked for help. I responded in my limited Spanish, and made myself understood, and together we proudly completed what we thought was the impossible. At that moment I felt useful. Six hours after the polls closed we were finally finished - or so we thought. But it would be another hour and a half before were able to start our trek back to the hut.

It was two o'clock in the morning. We had been up since four, we were tired, we were dirty, and we were hungry (we had not eaten for two days). But we were content, we were happy, and we were grateful for the opportunity we had had to see the look in the faces of the *campesinos* as they proudly voted. We were grateful for the opportunity to wit-

ness the empowerment of the people as they managed, against many obstacles, to accomplish a most difficult process. We were grateful that they had allowed us the opportunity to share briefly in their lives.

As I sat at my desk writing this, back in my own reality, I no longer question my usefulness; that is not important. I reflect on my experience and thank the Salvadorans for what they have given me: an inner peace, a strength to change, a new vision, a direction in life, and an example I will never forget.

## Monologue From Ocosingo to San Cristóbal

- Eva Bodenstendt, San Cristóbal de las Casa, January 12, 1994. [La Jornada, Mexico, February 13, 1994, page 7].

Chronicle of a monologue on the road from Ocosingo to San Cristóbal.

Scene: A mini-bus, theatre of the deaf.

«You're the press! You want me to say something? You want me to tell you? Well, listen, I'm going to tell you what it's like to be Indian, I'm going to tell you about the life of an Indian.» Six passengers fall silent, swallowing their words at the man's threatening scream.

In the van that has just left behind an anguished Ocosingo for a San Cristóbal permeated by hope, no other voice will be heard but that of Elias.

Even before leaving, his state of mind exposes itself when, exasperated, he knocks the music box in which a Chaplin moves to the rhythm of the notes. «I'm bringing it as a present to my son Homero,» he announces, and everybody's eyes turn away to the other side, completely avoiding those of the Indian Elias.

«You're the press!» he shouts again, screaming his words in the hope of communicating. The driver reminds him that he allowed him on the bus on the condition that he would behave himself. Elias becomes quiet and takes a generous sip of his beer. He puts the little music box away and waits for Ocosingoto to become lost behind the curves to turn his face once more to the seat behind. His breath immobilizes a person in his forties at his side who fears an untimely encounter. Elias looks for a moment at the profile simu-

«My grandparents were the serfs of Jorge de la Vega Dominguez. My whole family was there. We all worked his land. My aunt didn't know how to work so they put her fingers in a comal (clay pan used to make tortillas). She is still alive and her fingers are still burnt. I, as a son,

lating inattention and speaks.

began to understand. On Sundays I brought the turkeys to the market in San Cristóbal. Up here, on my head, I carried them, I was underneath.» His hands show the height of long ago and then come to rest on the shoulder of his neighbour.

There is no reaction, he doesn't move away, no nerves twitch in his neck, no expression of dislike. The silence of the passengers is a theatre of the deaf

«Afterwards, my grandma bought land, and still gave half of the harvest to the landlord. The



hens weren't worth anything either. The landlords didn't want to pay five pesos for one, only four. I didn't give in. They always wanted to pay less for everything. Even with land and hens we were still deprived. Whatever the Indian produced was hoarded by the landowners and the Indian couldn't say anything because he would be beaten.»

«Then,» he emphasized, «it was 1970 and I

was a child. Yesterday I turned 37 and I've already experienced what it is to be excluded and rejected.»

Elias drinks from his beer, celebrating his birthday. He offers, «I agree with the rebellion of the Zapatistas.» He shouts and the silence in the minibus is broken by the tension. Someone lets out a breath and asks for clemency. In front, on all sides, the first army checkpoint.

«Yes, listen carefully everybody, I agree with them» says Elias, «the reason is just, we ask for justice. We're not asking for anything else but jus-

tice, and if I talk too much let them kill me. Indians always have kept quiet but now we have awakened in arms »

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Elias' fist strikes the roof of the van and the passengers' heads sink into their shoulders. «We have taken up

arms but this isn't a war, it's a show of strength so that we be respected. You know! Here in Chiapas we've recovered the intelligence they took away from us. You think there was cement in Chiapas? There was no cement.

nor steel rods but we have Palenque, Bonampak, Yachilan. No, Chiapas didn't have anything, only our intelligence which we have to recover. Because they have beaten up our intelligence. They beat our heads with iron and sticks, with exclusion, with ignorance, with whips and lies, and as they beat our foreheads they leave us like jackasses, like the drunk I am, ever since

Columbus arrived in 1492.»

The history of Mexico flows from Elias' lips with sadness and precision.

«Bastards, bastard Absalon and Patrocinio!». His fist stirs the tension and opens and his hands spread wide and his fingers seam to want to caress the land that speeds away as the evening light bathes the mountain sides.

The van comes to a stop and the army open

the doors. Only some have to get out. Outside Elias raises his arms and the hands of the soldiers run over his body. He's the only Indian and all eyes fall on him. From his bag they take out a pair of sandals, the Chaplin music box, a radio and a can of beer that is not returned. Everyone's eyes are on Elias. Then, everyone looks at the soldiers. All the looks become criss-

The press corps waits inside the bus. The rest re-enter the bus. Elias as well.

crossed and the smiles are muted.

Now he sits on his knees and his body sways backwards. His face is very close, his straight bangs fall against his wide forehead which he continues to strike with his open hand while the other crumples the half empty can of warm beer.

His white and healthy teeth show a first smile. «Our rebelliousness comes from the heart, from our conscience. This is the rebellion of indigenous poor people. I'm not scared anymore of the landowners nor of the landowners; I have no land, I have nothing. I'm worth 15 pesos because I'm a bricklayer's helper and I make houses for others. What can I buy with 15 pe-

He finishes drinking the now warm liquid and his words pour out again, bursting out of a mind scarred by centuries of silence.

sos for my children and my wife?»

«When are they going to respect us? Do we

have to take up arms? Do we have to cry out of hunger? When will they respect us? The army searched the houses; when they came they told us to go under the beds, and they took away my sister. She was found in Palenque. There was a mean soldier who said to me «and you, bastard, what do you want? You are a Zapatista», and he hit me and he humiliated me. I walked for four days from Ocosingo to San Cristobal, hiding in shacks, because I'm a teacher and they know me. I speak Tzetzal, Tzotzil, Chol and Spanish; thank God I speak Spanish and I have read a lot. I read *The Iliad* and that is why my son is named Homero. I also read *El Tiempo* and *La Jornada*.»

The atmosphere in the bus rises in temperature. The driver stares at the rear-view mirror. Some open windows and the cold air strikes the skin of those who are anxious to arrive at their destination.

«And if they kill our father Samuel,\* if they kill him,» he threatens, «that, Mexico will not stand for. It won't bear it because he is the father of the Indians and we will multiply like ants; we're going to sting like ants all over, wherever we spring forth. It's best they look after him, because he is our Hidalgo,\*\* who brought independence and abolished slavery.»

The last military checkpoint before arriving in San Cristóbal. The night finally consumes the light. The soldiers press their faces against the windows and let us through.

<sup>\*</sup> Samuel. Don Samuel Ruiz, bishop of San Cristobal de las Casas in Chiapas. Don Samuel is an avid supporter of the indigenous people.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Hidalgo. A priest who led a popular uprising against the Spanish early in the nineteenth century.

# 2 Wednesday Monday Tuesday Ex 32:15-24,30-34 Ex 33:7-11; 34:5b-9,28 Ex 34:29-35 St. Ignatius of Loyola Matt 13:31-35 Alphonsus Ligouri Matt 13:36-43 Matt 13:44-46 1981: Carlos Pérez Alonso, priest, apostle to the 1498: Colombus arrives in Trinidad 1975: Arien Slu, 18 year old student, martyr in the 1981: Omar Torrijos of Panama dies in an Nicaraguan revolution sick and imprisoned, is disappeared in "accident" 1979: Massacre of Chota, Peru Guatemala

23 24 30 31

8 Tuesday Wednesday Monday Numb 11:4b-15 Numb 12:1-13 Numb 13:2-3a,26; 14:26-30,34-35 Matt 14:13-21 Matt 14:22-26 Matt 15:21-28 1819: Bolivar is victorious at Boyacá 1945: The United States drops an atomic bomb on Nagasaki 1991: Miguel Tomaszek and Zbigniew Strzalkowski, franciscan missionaries in Peru

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	10 Thursday Lawrence Numb 20:1-13 Matt 18:13-23 1809: First proclamation of Ecuador's independence. National holiday 1977: Jesus Alberto Páez Vargas, father of four, is kidnapped and disappeared in Peru	11 Friday Martin of Tours Deut 4:32-40 Matt 18:24-28	12 Saturday Deut 6:4-13 Matt 17:14-19 1524: Pedro de Alvarado conquers the Quiche people in Guatemala 1978: 17 bishops, 36 priests, religious and Latinamerican lay people are detained by the police while they are meeting in Riobamba, Ecuador 1983: Margarita Maria Alves, labor leader, is assassinated in Brazil	
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nt 10:12-22 Ro tt 17:21-26 Feast of the Assumption	ev 11:19a, 12:1-6a,10ab n 1 Cor 15:20-26	Wednesday  Deut 34:1-12  Matt 18:15-20  Erbetta, catechist, is marytered in titna

The colonizers "had as their ultimate aim, gold, to become rich and within a short while attain high rank" Bartolomé de las Casas in "A Short History of the Destruction of the Indians"

Evangelization was experienced by us as the religious aspect in a process of military, political and cultural domination.

- L.Boff

J.	Thursday acinto Josh 3:7-10a, 11, 13-1 Matt 18:21 - 19:		
		- - -	
			20th Cunday of Ordinary Time Jer 38 4-6.3-10 Heb 12 1-4 Luke 12 49-53
			1778: The general Bemardo O'Higgins is born

# 21 Monday

Judges 2:11-19 Matt 19:16-22

1971: Maurice Lefevre, Canadian oblate missionary, is assassinated in Bolivia during a coun d'Etat

# 22 Tuesday

Judges 6:11-24a Matt 19:23-30

# 23 Wednesday

e of Lima Judges 9:6-15

Matt 20:1-16a

1948: The World Council of Churches is founded 1975: The National Institute of the Indians is created in Paraguay

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In continuity with Medellin and Puebla we are taking on with renewed vigor the option for the poor, the option which will illuminate our every act of evangelization. In the light of such we will undertake to promote a new economic, social and political order which respects peoples' dignity. Santo Domingo document of the Latinamerican Catholic Bishops' Conference (CELAM)

28 Monday Augustine 1 Thes 1:1-5,8b-10 Matt 23:13-22	29 Tuesday  Jer 1, 17-19  Martyrdom of John the Baptist Mark 6, 17-29  1533: Baptism and death of Atahualpa  1986: Despite the cardinal of Rio de Janeiro's prohibition the 3rd Meeting of black Religious Seminarians and Priests of Rio de Janeiro is held.	30 Wednesday 1 Thes 2:9-1 Matt 23:27-3
About half a million maternal deaths per year re recorded. Unsafe abortions cause a significant proportion of them.	Household saints don't make miracles Brazilian proverb.	There is no right to be sad. A christian al ways should have a heart filled with joy. - Oscar Romero, May 20, 1979

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# Zumbi, the Man From Palmares and the

# <u>Quilombos</u>

- David Raimundo dos Santos

The Republic of Palmares was an autonomous enclave in Algoas State in northeastern Brazil during the period 1605-94; it was formed by the coalescence of as many as 10 separate communities (called quilombos) of fugitive black slaves. Between 1680-86, six Portuguese expeditions attempted to conquer Palmares and failed. Finally, the governor of Pernambuco engaged an army of bandeirantes\* which defeated the "palmarista" force on February 6, 1694, putting an end to the republic. - Encyclopedia Britannica

tuguese) principally about the *quilombo* in Palmares, where he dedicated his entire life to the struggle for liberation of his Black People. In the official history books almost nothing is said of the struggles against slavery.

The region of Palmares got its name because there was a large amount of Palm groves and a thick forest full of dangerous animals. It also had many mountains and cliffs. Documents from this period attest

To talk of Zumbi one has to know something about

The owners of the sugar plantations controlled

the slaves with the most extreme violence. Quilombos

arose throughout Brazil during the time of Black slav-

the hideouts for runaway slaves (quilombos in Por-

ery. The *quilombo* was the place where Blacks were free. In the *quilombo* there was a type of society very different from that of today. There were big and small *quilombos* and they had links between them. They maintained commercial relations between different places. The Palmareans cultivated rice, beans, cassava, sugarcane, potatoes and vegetables as well as various types of fruit. Some Palmareans knew a great deal about iron metallurgy thanks to techniques brought from Africa. Some *quilombos* were of great significance such as the *quilombo* of Ambrosio, in Minas Gerais, which grew to more than 10,000 inhabitants. When it was destroyed, a new one arose in the same place, that of Campo Grande, bigger than the *quilombo* in Ambrosio.

In Palmares there were 11 recognized communities. Each community had its own chief, recognized for his strength, intelligence and skills. There were rigorous laws, with the death penalty for theft, adultery,

it originated before 1600, the exact year unknown.

The quilombo in Palmares resisted for 100 years;

homicide, and so forth. What united the communities was the fact that they all struggled for freedom against oppression and exploitation.

was a large amount of Palm groves and a thick forest full of dangerous animals. It also had many mountains and cliffs. Documents from this period attest that Palmares was a true Black state. Attacks and persecution were frequent, but all of the settlers' assaults on Palmares ended in failure. The surrender of Ganga Zumba, the chief of Palmares, was only due to false promises.

Zumbi was taken prisoner when he was still a

new born. He was handed over to a priest, who made

him an altar boy and taught him Latin and Portuguese. At the age of 15 Zumbi ran away to Palmares, but returned several times to Porto Calvo, where he used to live, to visit his father. At a very young age, Zumbi was already the chief of one of the communities. As decided by Ganga Zumba in 1678, Zumbi moved on to become the chief of the Armed Forces of Palmares. To Zumbi the most important thing was not for him to live free on his own, but to liberate all Blacks who were still slaves

Zumbi, was betrayed to the Portuguese by friends. They poisoned Ganga Zumba and assassinated his trusted allies, Juan Mulato Canhongo, Amaro and Gaspar. The rest of his followers were shared out among the land barons of the region. The governor

Ganga Zumba, chief of the quilombo before

offering him a pardon, freedom and land for him and his family if he would put down his arms. Zumbi never gave in. From 1670 to 1680 the Portuguese made 25 attacks against the *quilombo* of Palmares.

and even the King of Portugal sent messages to Zumbi

Domingo Jorge Velho "El Bandeirante", blinded by hate, unleashed his madness by cutting the throats of 200 Indians. In 1692 Father Antonio Viera wrote to the King of Portugal, saying that there was no way to negotiate with the inhabitants of the *quilombos* and that the only solution was to totally destroy Palmares.

sand men and six cannons. A huge battle took place in 1695. In the forest, Zumbi tried to reorganize his army. He was seen in Penedo (Alogoas) in charge of a group, looking for arms and ammunition. There were several groups of armed Blacks in the woods. One of these was commanded by Antonio Soares,

Portugal had to put together the strongest army

in all its colonial history: it brought together five thou-

who was captured by the *bandeirantes* from Sao Paulo. The Sao Paulists attacked but the Blacks did not give in: they preferred to die. On the 20th of November 1695 Zumbi died. His head was found cut off and displayed in the public plaza in Recife. Several Palmareans went to Paraiba, where with other Blacks and Indians they founded a *quilombo* at Cumbe, which was very combative and survived until 1731. The lands of Palmares eventually were divided

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In 1986, acting upon the demands of the Black community, the lands where the Palmares *quilombo* Serra da Barriga stood were set aside by the Federal Government and a monument to Zumbi was erected, where each year public ceremonies and celebrations occur on the 20th of November.

among the sugarcane plantation owners.

\* Bandeirantes were members of colonial expeditions in Brazil whose purpose was to capture runaway slaves as well as to find gold and precious stones.

# A Psalm for Zumbi

- The Commission of Black Seminarians, Religious and Priests

Zumbi, like Moses, was saved from the waters and reared in the Pharaoh's palace. Although educated by priests, he remained true to the culture of his people, fully accepting it. God anointed him to save his enslaved people.

### We too have saints!

sequences.

Zumbi, the man from Palmares, symbol of the contradictions of his times, pillar of faithfulness to his race and to the ideal of freedom, having embarked on the path of true faith, was exposed to the opposing values of an oppressive world. Nevertheless, he strongly adopted the evangelical ideal of an authentic and shar-

ing brotherhood. Embracing that which was worthy, he always accepted the ultimate con-

We too have saints!

Palmares was a promised land for Blacks and a haven of freedom. Zumbi, the new Moses, a spirited and daring guide, led the Black people on the path to this land of total sharing. Although raised far from his roots, he saw the suffering of his marginalized people. Zumbi asked for the strength, courage, enthusiasm and perseverance needed to struggle for his people, whom he felt called upon to liberate. Faith in a God who struggles for the oppressed taught him brotherhood's true meaning. In this, he recovered the heritage of the cultural and religious values of the Black people.

We too have saints!

# Why is Cuba Such a Nuisance?

### - Fray Betto

The downfall of socialism in Eastern Europe, the Sandinista defeat in Nicaragua, the repression of the Chinese students in Tiananmen Square, and the sudden break-up of the Soviet Union, are reasons for enthusiasm for those who proclaim the "end of history" and the irreversible victory of the market economy. However, for those who dare to dream about sharing life with everybody, those events have produced bewilderment and discouragement, or even the Abrahamic wish to rescue hope "against all hope."

In the middle of this devastation, Cuba resists. It

is the only country in the Western hemisphere that

established socialism and that, just 400 kilometres from the USA. For those who give credence to the sibylline predictions of Francis Fukuyama - as Antonio Callado says, an example of modernity, because he is an American with a Japanese face and name - when history is finished, fatality remains and implacably erases from the map everything that resists the dictatorship of the market. Socialism would have caught an incurable disease, and Cuba would be in the terminal phase. In Miami, the Cuban millionaire Más Canosa already has the new Cuban constitution ready.

while many exiled families pay huge sums to a com-

pany that will rescue all the properties (houses, man-

sions, plantations, factories, enterprises) expropriated

by the Revolution. In the neo-liberal wave that sweeps

the planet, with the growing privatisation of public

services. Cuban statism is considered to be a little

dinosaur brought to the Museum of History, who,

frozen in his ideas, refuses to die.

Why is Cuba such a nuisance? It is a country with 11 million people, isolated in four ways: by geography, by the American blockade, by the end of the Soviet Union, and by the lack of hard currency. A nation whose bad media profile is second only to Sadam Hussein's Iraq; it is governed by a bloody dictator, who enjoys sending the opposition to the firing squad, who does not respect human rights and does not admit political opposition. "If only Cuba would allow political pluralism," some people say, "it would be easier to defend its Revolution." "If at least they stopped the firing squads," others say, "it could not be accused of barbarism." And why does not Fidel Castro run for the presidency along with other candidates?

Cuba is a nuisance, but not for the above men-

tioned reasons, so often trotted out by the media. That is just a speck of dust in the eye. Cuba is a nuisance because it says no to capitalism and because it is the only Latin American country that acquired a respectable standard of living for the majority of its population. In Cuba there are no abandoned street children as in Brazil, no multitudes of illiterates as in the mountains of Bolivia, no multitudes of unemployed people as in Peru, no millionaire families indifferent to beggars as in the posh neighbourhoods of Caracas, no countryside estate-owners that kill campesinos, as in the Guatemalan forests. Cuba is not a paradise, but in a continent of destitute people anybody who can eat is a king. There, socialism granted biological survival (in 1993, 10 children died

Zumbi, the man of courage and resistance, guides and unites the Black people.

Although conquered through treason, his ideals remain unconquered. They, like his resistance, live on today in us.

Known from birth as Zumbi, he lived an ex-

ceptional life and was the one whom his people awaited.

### We too have saints!

Zumbi is the good news—good news for oppressed people. Only by learning about Palmares and its history may we discover the of every 1,000 born alive), access to school, health, work, and a respectable salary to everybody. There are problems, and many of them, such as the rooming houses in Old Havana, the shanty towns in Santiago de Cuba, the poor distribution of products, the black market, the growing prostitution in Havana, and the lack of political mechanisms that both allow the dissatisfied and the dreamers to voice criticisms and alternatives, without the risk of being marked as counter-revolutionaries.

The Revolution became accustomed to monoculture and sugar exports, confirming the international division of labour imposed first by Spain, then by the USA, and finally by the Soviet Union. No attempt was made to create an industrial infrastructure, maybe because Cuba counted on the permanence of its marriage with Russia. Well, even in indissoluble marriages, one of the partners eventually dies. What industry the country had was centred on civil works and the manufacture of basic consumer goods: for home, school, sports, or culture. The intention was to give the nation a well-being that had been denied.

Cuba has unmasked the hypocrisy of the liberal discourse that promises development, freedom, and peace for everybody. After 100 years of the market economy in Latin America, there is a panorama of desolation. Seventy per cent of the population lives below the poverty line and forty per cent in extreme poverty. One million malnourished children on the continent die each year. Moreover, there is no doubt today that there never was an altruistic intent in the dollars sent to our countries by the First World. Behind each dollar there was the certainty of a lucrative investment and the increase of political dependency,

Good News of Jesus as lived through the ideal of liberty. For others, the pioneer's Evangel was blasphemous. Yet, the religious feeling of the Black people is tied to the Evangel of Christ Himself

We too have saints!

thanks to the corruption of authorities and the expanding interests of cartels and trans-national enterprises. The Alliance for Progress did not satisfy the hunger of the population of the Brazilian north-east but it greatly diminished the sense of being Brazilian among the region's elite. The loans always came to our countries tied to specific projects and, above all, in search of profits and interest, making the external debt an eternal one, a monetary version of cultural dependency.

Cuba dared to unmask that mechanism that makes Latin America, and Africa and Asia for that matter of fact, regions of death. In our countries we are born to die. Only in Cuba, are the fruits of the earth and human labour fraternally shared. The Revolution brought about agrarian and urban reforms, allowing everybody to have a roof over their head and extending the right to own land to the campesinos. The literacy campaign eradicated ignorance. Blacks, children of blue-collar workers and campesinos, and women, all of whom who would be condemned to sub-employment, to marginalization, or to delinquency in our countries, in Cuba are doctors or engineers, work in scientific research or teach at the University, win gold medals at the Olympics and write beautiful pages of art history.

I consider Jesus' advice to be of capital importance: let he who has not sinned cast the first stone. How can I throw stones at Cuba if I live in a country and a continent that produce more deaths than lives? How can I condemn Cuba for its mistakes when I know very well what happens inside the Church? And how can I demand that David throw away his sling, if Goliath, ever so near, is threatening to squash him?

To me, Palmares means a communitarian experiment, imbued with the spirit of the Evangel. To me, Zumbi is the saint of the Black struggle. I see in him, both the hand of God wanting to save His people, and other Black saints who sought to free their people from slavery.

We too have saints!

in El Salvador, assassinated.  22nd Cunday of Ordinary Time Eccl 3 19-21,30-31 Heb 12 18-19,22-24a	22nd Sunday of Ordinary Time Ecci 3 19-21 30-31 Heb 12 16-19.22-24a Land Sunday of Ordinary Time Ecci 3 19-21 30-31 Heb 12 16-19.22-24a The University of Assunción, prophet of the University of Assunción, prophet of the	year 1962: Indej 1988: León	Ramón Nonsto ad States marines les s of occupation pendence of Trinidad idas Proaño, "bishop ador	and Tobago	1 Thes 4:1-8 Matt 25:1-13 1971: Julio Expósito, student, 19 years old, Christian militant, martyr of the Unuguayan people struggle, assassinated by the police. 1978: Meeting of the CNBB commission whose task was to elaborate a text on the Negro in Brazil. Initially, the Black Unity and Conscience group was formed from this commission, and later the Black Pastoral Agents. 1979: Jesús Jiménez, campesino, Delegate of the	1 Thes 4:9-11 Matt 25:14-30
BECt 3 19-21 30-31 Heb 12 18-19.22-24a Luke 14-1,7-14  1976: Ramón Pastor Bogarin, bishop, founder of the University of Asunción, prophet of the	Eccl 3 19-21 30-31 Heb 12 18-19.22-24a Luke 14-17-14 1978: Ramón Pastor Bogarin, bishop, founder of the University of Asunción, prophet of the				Word, martyr of the Good News to the poor in El Salvador, assassinated.	
BECd 3 19-21 30-31 Heb 12 18-19.22-24a Lüke 14-1,7-14  1978: Ramón Pastor Bogarin, bishop, founder of the University of Asunción, prophet of the	Eccl 3 19-21 30-31 Heb 12 18-19.22-24a Luke 14-17-14 1976: Ramón Pastor Bogarin, bishop, founder of the University of Asunción, prophet of the					
1976: Ramón Pastor Bogarin, bishop, founder of the University of Asunción, prophet of the	1976: Ramón Pastor Bogarín, bishop, founder of the University of Asunción, prophet of the					Ecct 3:19-21,30-31
						1976: Ramón Pastor Bogarín, bishop, founder of the University of Asunción, prophet of the

<b>4</b> Monday	5 Tuesday	6 Wednesday
Albert Schweitzer 1 Thes 4:13-18 Luke 4:16-30 1970: Electoral victory of the Popular Unity of	1 Thes 5:1-6,9-11 Luke 4:31-37	Col 1, 1-14 Luke 4:38-4- 1839: Martyrdom of Manuel Congo, leader of
Chile.  1984: André Jurián, priest, killed by a builet shot by the police while he was reading the Bible in the La Victoria sharty town, in Santiago, Chile.		Qullombo de Vassouras, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 1975: The World Council of Aboriginal Peoples is created in Port Alberni, Canada.
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Scratch to the bone, accept bafflement and perplexity in all their depth, do not omit questions (especially the most difficult ones). Accept that what characterizes this historic moment is the disintegration of all the bench marks of certainty, and admit certainty only in ethical convictions.

- Gerardo Caetano, Uruguayan historian.

Regina Col 1:9-14 Luke 5:1-11 1822: Brazil independence. National holiday.	R Friday M 5:2-5a or Rom 8:28-30 Mary's birthday Matt 1:1-16,18-23 1522: John Sebastian Elcano completes the first trip around the world. 1974: Ford grants Nixon "complete and absolute pardon for all the crimes that he committed or could have committed while being President".	Peter Claver Col 1:21-23 Luke 6:1-5 1613: Uprising of Lari Qăxa, Bolivia (Aymaras, Quichuas, and forest people confront the Spaniards). 1854: Pedro Claver, apostle of the black slaves in Cartagena, Colombia.	
	International Literacy Day. There are 1,000 million adults in the world that do not know how to read or write; 100 million children of school age that do not have a place where to learn.		(4) (4) (4) (4) (4) (4) (4) (4) (4) (4)
		23rd Sunday of Ordinary Time	· · · · · · · ·
		Phil 1 99-10 12-17 Luke 14 25-33  1924: The U.S. marines occupy several Honduran cities to support Washington's favourite presidential candidate.	Sel
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August  S M T W T F S  1 2 3 4 5  6 7 8 9 10 11 12  13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20  20 21 22 23 24 25 26  Septe  S M T W  1 11 12 13 4 5 6  17 18 19 20  17 18 19 20	1 2 1 2 3 4 5 6 7		

# 11 Monday

Col 1:24-2:3 Luke 6:6-11

1973: Coup d'état in Chile against the constitutional President Salvador Allende.

# 12 Tuesday

Col 2:6-15 Luke 6:12-19

1977: Martyrdom of Steve Biko in the prison of the white regime of South Africa.

white regime of South Amca.

1989: Valdicio Barbosa dos Santos, rural labour unionist of Pedro Canário (ES), Brazil.

# 13 Wednesday

Col 3:1-11 John Chrysostom Luke 6:20-26

1549: Juan de Betanzos retracts his previous opinion that Indians are beasts.

1589: Bloody rebellion of the Mapuches in Chile.

1980: Nobel Peace Prize winner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, Argentinean architect, jailed and tortured.


The law of Caiphas: the harassed person should be harassed.

- Mexican proverb.

When they do not cause any more trouble, then they are canonised.
- Pedro Casaldáliga.

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### **20 Wednesday** Monday Tuesday 1 Tim 2:1-8 I Tim 3:1-13 1 Tlm 3:14-16 Dag Hammarskjold Luke 7:1-10 Luke 7:11-17 Andrés Kim, Fausta Luke 7:31-35 1810: Chilean independence. National holiday. 1973: Juan Alsina, Spanish priest, assassinated by 1519; Ferdinand Magelian departs from Saniúcar. 1945: Getúlio Vargas signs a decree re-opening Pinochet's police, martyr of the Chilean 1977: The Aboriginal peoples of Latin America are immigration to Brazil. This decree only heard for the first time in the Palace of 1983: Independence of St. Kitt's and Nevis. permits the entrance of persons according Nations, Geneva. National holiday. 1978: Francisco Luis Espinoza, priest, and martyr to the "need to preserve and develop, in the 1985: Earthquake in Mexico city. compañeros in Esteli. Nicaragua. ethnic composition of the country, the most 1979: Apolinar Serrano, José López, Félix Salas, convenient characteristics of its European and Patricia Puertas, martyr campasinos ancestry". and labour union leaders in El Salvador. 1969: The "Rosariazo" popular uprising. The police force is overwhelmed by the citizens and the army is forced to negotiate peace.

Between 3,000 and 4,000 languages are spoken in the world. At least part of the Bible can be read in 2,062 languages, while it has been totally translated into only 337 languages. The New Testament is in 799 languages. Africa reads the Bible in 587 languages, Asia in 513, America in 429, Oceanía in 341, and Europe in 189, including Esperanto, an artificial language.

### Thursday Matthew Eph 4:1-7,11 Eph 4:1-7,11-13

Matt 9:9-13

1526; The first Spaniard arrives at the shores of Ecuador.

1981: Independence of Belize. National Holiday.

Friday

1 Tim 6:2-12 Luke 8:1-3

1862: Slavery is legally abolished in the United States.

23 Saturday

1 Tim 6:13-16 Line and Tecla Luke 8:4-15

1868: The 'Lares cry' (Puerto Rico): Ramón E. Betances initiates the independence movement and emancipates the slaves.

1905: Francisco de Paula Victor dies. He was a black priest considered to be a great saint. The black community fights for his beatification.

1973: Pablo Neruda dies.

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		25th Sunday of Ordinary Time Amos 8 4-7 1 Tim 2 1-8	
		1 Tim 2 1-8	
		Luke 16: 1-13	
		1553: Caupolicán, a Mapuche leader, is executed.	
	<del></del>	Day of the Bible in several Latin American	
		countries.	
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# 25 Monday

Esdras 1:1-6 Sergio de Radonezh Luke 8:16-18 26 Tuesday

Esdras 6:7-8,12,14-20 Luke 8:19-21

1974: Lázaro Condo and Cristóbal Pajuña, martyr campesinos of the Ecuadorian people, Christian leaders of their communities in the fight for the agrarian reform, assassinated in Riobamba, Ecuador. 27 Wednesday
Vincent de Paul Esdras 9:5-9

Luke 9:1-6 1979: Guido León dos Santos, hero of the working class, killed by police repression in Minas, Brazil.

1990: Sister Agustina Rivas, Good Shepherd nun, martyr in Peru.

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Where is the centre of the Universe?, asked Doña Hortensia looking at the stars from the door of the chapel in Boca do Acre, Amazons.
 In every one of us, answered Don Antero.

)	28 Thursday  Job 9:1-12,14-18  Luke 9:7-9  551 BC: Birth of Confucius in China  1871: The 'law of the free womb' is signed in Brazil. R  violently separates the tlack children from their parents, who remain slaves. As a consequence of this law, the first 'abandoned children' appeared on the streets.  1885: The 'law of the sexagerarian' throws on the street people who are older than 60. They are already exhausted by excessive slave work, and this increases the number of beggars.	29 Friday Dan 7:9-10,13-14 Michael, Gabriel, Raphael John 1:47-51 1908: Second armed intervention of the USA in Cuba. It will last 2 years and 4 months.	30 Saturday Jerome Zac 2:1-5,10-11a Luke 9:44b-45 1655: Coronilla and comparieros, Indian chiefs, martyrs of the liberation of their people in Argentina. 1981: Honorio Alejandro Núñez, delegate of the Word and seminarian, martyr of the battles of the Honduran people.	**************************************
			26th Sunday of Ordinary Time Amos 6. Iz. 4-7 1 Tim 6. II-16 Luke 16. 19-31 1542: Start of the Araucania war. 1991: The army expels the constitutional President of Halti, Aristide, and starts a massacre of hundreds of Haitian.  International day of the Senior Citizens. A call to recognise the rights of the older people: a decent pension, protection against destitution.	Septemoer
	August   Septe	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		,,,,

# <u>Liberalism and Social Exclusion in Latin</u> <u>America</u>

- Ana Maria Ezcurra

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### 1) Poverty, a security problem.

Interviewed at a meeting in Washington, UNESCO Director General Federico Mayor Zaragoza declared poverty to be a "security problem of international dimensions." His was not an isolated voice. Indeed, at the same meeting, the President of the International Development Bank (BID), Enrique Iglesias, sounded an alarm on the risk of "social explosions" in Latin America, while his advisor, Louis Emmerij, referred to a "social time-bomb" in the subcontinent. Joao Baena Soares, the Secretary General of the Organization of American States (OAS), warned that in the absence of "immediate and concerted action the accumulation of unfulfilled demands will go beyond any possibility of finding a way to meet them."

There is nothing new in such concerns on the part of international (and regional) organizations, although they are now expressed more widely and more emphatically. In fact, it was at the end of the 1980s that the advanced North recognized poverty as a challenge on a global scale. This led to the World Bank's saying in its 1990 World Development Report that "No task should command a higher priority for the world's policy-makers than that of reducing global poverty." The report went on to recommend that global poverty reduction should henceforth become the basic mission of the World Bank.

These worries stem from overwhelming evidence of the enormous and rapid growth in the extent and severity of poverty. The 1980s saw a dramatic worsening of the already very unequal

relations between North and South, causing "the poor . . . to be increasingly excluded from the market, both domestic and international," (according to the 1992 Report on Human Development of the United Nations Development Programme, UNDP). In 1993, the World Bank estimated that 1.1 billion people in the "developing world" lived in poverty (according to 1990 figures). This estimate is in fact a blatant distortion of reality, since it is based on a poverty threshold of \$1 per day.

Poverty is perceived to be a security risk, in that it can become a source of instability, undermining the political legitimacy and viability (above all in democratic regimes) of the prevailing economic model. Such reasoning finds crude expression in the words of the World Bank's

el. Such reasoning finds crude expression in the words of the World Bank's 1990 Report "In the time that it takes to read this paragraph, approximately one hundred children will have been born, six in the industrialized countries and ninety-four in the developing countries. Here, then, is the global challenge. Quite apart from what happens within the advanced economies, long-term global and security depend, because of the

prosperity and security depend, because of the strength of numbers, on development (the reduction of poverty)."

The 1980s not only produced a mushrooming of poverty and inequality, they were also the years during which core capitalism promoted the step-by-step implementation of a free market economic model worldwide. Thus social exclusion and neoliberalism go hand in hand. In other words, the

social exclusion which now troubles the North is the direct consequence of the economic policies that it has promoted.

### 2) Structural Adjustment in Latin America

In 1990, according to the Regional Anti-poverty Project (UNDP) figures, the Latin American poverty rate was 61.5%. The World Bank acknowledged that in the 1980s Latin America and the Caribbean (together with sub-Saharan Africa) was the region most affected by the increase in both the extent and depth of poverty. The UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) declared the 1980s to have been a "lost decade" for the area. In reality, it was the decade of structural adjustment. Structural adjustment was (and is) the economic policy that gives shape to the neoliberal paradigm.

What do "structural adjustment" and

"neoliberalism" mean when they are put into practice? What are their most important and enduring tenets? Structural adjustment is a strategy that espouses open markets (as the best and most efficient way to organize the production and distribution of goods and services), promoting the creation of export-oriented economies. It emphasizes productivity (as an engine of growth). Structural adjustment programmes involve a fundamental antagonism to the state's role as regulator of the economy. For this reason, they are not limited to the pursuit of macro-economic stability (for example, reduction of inflation, control of the fiscal deficit). They also necessarily include reforms to the political structure.

The neoliberal paradigm has had (and has) a significant worldwide impact, constituting one of the most vigorous and lasting legacies of the "conservative revolution" which took place in the advanced North, and particularly in the United States during the 1980s. Its success is derived in good measure from the political pressure exercised by

the principal international financial institutions. As was especially apparent in Latin America, "structural adjustment" was imposed on indebted countries by the IMF, with the support of the World Bank, as a means of resolving the debt crisis.

In other words, the Latin American states surrendered a large part of their decision-making power to the international financial institutions. The external debt thus became a powerful instrument of interference in the hands of core capitalism, leading Latin America into even greater dependence. Structural adjustment means the reorganization of indebted economies for the benefit of their creditors. It is, therefore, a key long-term strategy for the advanced North.

Trade interests are also at play, as is particularly evident with regard to the United States. In fact, the rebuilding of U.S. national economic strength is the main priority of the Clinton administration's foreign policy. Hence trade, which is considered to be of vital importance to North American security, has assumed a key function in foreign policy. U.S. economic growth and job creation are increasingly dependent on exports. Another U.S. policy priority is to expand and stimulate the global market economy and to work towards an international order without trade (and investment) barriers. These economic and trade policy considerations are also applied to Latin America, and they underlie the Democratic administration's explicit support for "economic reform" in the region. This means that the continued application of structural adjustment policies can also be explained in terms of United States' trade interests. In a nutshell, neoliberalism does not only intensify social exclusion; it also presupposes deeper Latin American political dependence (in decisionmaking), and it is tied in with very obvious Northern financial and commercial interests.

### 3) The changing face of neoliberalism.

Confronted with the problem of rapidly increasing levels of poverty, core capitalism reformulated the neoliberal paradigm. Its two-track "modernized" strategy was basically designed by the World Bank (with IMF and IDB support) and was made public in the World Bank's World Development Report.

The first track consisted of the promotion of policies directed toward economic growth (without which there would be no reduction in poverty levels.) To this end, the World Bank persists in "reforms" oriented towards the market and in the same old "structural adjustment" policies. It acknowledges structural adjustment's ill-effects upon the poor but alleges them to be short-term, while asserting that, from a long-term standpoint, the economic restructuring associated with adjustment "would be perfectly consistent" with the goal of reducing poverty.

In this endorsement of the basic outlines of the neoliberal economic paradigm, (which does, however, recommend a pattern of growth that would expand employment possibilities), what we are faced with is not so much "modernization" but outright obstinacy.

Nevertheless, at the same time a relatively new argument is brought forth. Growth is declared to be necessary but not sufficient. Long-term poverty reduction calls for additional measures, in particular for greater and more efficient public

r for greater and more efficient public spending (understood as investment) in basic social services:

primary education, basic health care, nutrition, and family planning (aimed at eliminating the causes of poverty). To mitigate some of structural adjustment's effects on those most vulnerable and to reduce extreme poverty, there would also be remedial programmes (temporary relief targeting the symptoms of poverty). These special programmes, such as temporary public employment or mother-child and nutritional support projects, would be specifically directed towards the weakest groups (to avoid diverting funds to the "non-poor"). Thus increased government intervention is permitted, as long as it does not appear to threaten macro-economic stability.

At the same time there have been changes in public discourse. It is now emphasized that there is no dichotomy between the state and the market, between growth and justice, between intervention and laissez-faire (opinions that are also put forward by the Clinton administration). These attempts to modernize their outlook and their policies do not, however, prevent the World Bank and other international organizations from recognizing that there are political objectives at stake. It is admitted that these social policies "can help to maintain public support for structural adjustment" (1991 World Bank's World Development Report). In the words of the Director General of the IMF, Michel Camdessus, an improvement in justice "will bring about greater social and political acceptance of adjustment, making it more viable and more stable."

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Here we have the key objective: to safeguard the legitimacy and viability of the neoliberal paradigm by continuing in the same basic policy direction while making certain changes to the role of the state - especially in the social sphere. Nevertheless, the eventual success of this effort remains uncertain, as is shown by such recent events as the outburst in Santiago del Estero (Argentina), the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas (with its tremendous impact on Mexico as a whole), and the remarkable growth of the Workers' Party in Brazil. These are without doubt quite disparate phenomena, but they all indicate a demand for justice that is in inherent contradiction to neoliberalism and the social exclusion it engenders (even in its modernized version).

# Nueva Cajola: The Fight for Land

The fight for land is, without any doubt, the most dramatic and desperate cry that is heard in Guatemala. It bursts forth from the hearts of millions of Guatemalans, who not only wish to possess land but who long to be possessed by it.

As is mentioned in our sacred Mayan books, the Hombres de Maiz (Men of Com), feel, in part, an identity with the fields, the sowing and the harvest. However, they have been thrown off of the land and have been prevented from immersing themselves in the fertile furrows because of an unjust and sinful situation.

No one can deny the excessive inequality that exists in our time with regard to the ownership of land. The agrarian problem in Guatemala can be measured today simply by looking at the latifundio (large plantation) and the minifundio (small holding). It is a system of exploitation and slavery.

### Recovering the Land

Within this national context we come across the *campesinos* from the municipality of Cajola, 222 kilometres from the capital. They are nine hundred Mayas from the Mam group who, as we see in other pro-land movements, are the victims of necessity who have been inspired and encouraged by the pastoral letter "The Cry for Land" published in 1988 by the Catholic Bishops Conference of Guatemala, which says that they should organize themselves and work towards recovering what is theirs - the land.

We are talking about *campesinos* who day after day had developed an understanding of the unjust misery that they live and had taken the decision to reclaim their lands. Thanks to the particular interests of several powerful landholders and

corrupt authorities, they were violently thrown off the Pampas del Horizonte farm that legitimately belonged to them since 1910.

In February 1989, in the far away highland village, the *campesinos* met to discuss the property deed that was found among documents received by the municipal corporation. A committee was set up to examine the landholding. On checking its boundaries, it was found that the stakes had been moved and portions of the land had been annexed to the *Caotunco* plantation owned by Arévalo Bermejo. The National Institute of Agrarian Transformation (INTA) gave its support to the *campesinos* but the support was short-lived due to pressure, corruption and the prevailing atmosphere of violence.

On the 22nd of May of the same year, after difficult struggles and unjust detentions, the campesinos marched from the village of Cajola up to the Pampas de 31 Horizonte plantation in the department of Quetzaltenango, 140 kms from Champerico. The next day they peacefully occupied the land. The response of the landholders was not long in coming and on the 28th of May, the justice of the peace of Coatepeque, blackmailed by Mr. Arevalo Bermejo, tried to expel the Cajolenos accusing them of illegally taking over the land. Their leaders were imprisoned. This is how a campaign of coercion, defamation, threats and physical and psychological violence culminated in the violent expulsion of the campesinos by 200 armed police officers from the anti-riot squad.

### The Church Supports the Campesinos

From the first moment, the Church made itself present through its pastoral agents, priests, religious brothers and sisters to help prevent a futile

in the ditches by the side of the highway, where they lived in subhuman conditions. With the help of the Church, they initiated new legal proceedings but without any major results as the government's promises were false and the proceedings were delayed.

spilling of blood. The *campesinos* decided to camp

Their life in the ditches lasted 15 months during which time 23 children died. However, hunger, desperation, pain and despair only served to empower the campesinos, sustained only by support committees organized in the neighbouring parishes.

Having been exposed to the trickery of the government and after a long struggle that lasted until

May 11th, 1992, 400 families returned to occupy,

for a second time, their land on Pampas del

Horizonte. On the 1st of June, they were forced out again by an excessive show of force on the part of the police who were heavily armed with all kinds of repressive weaponry.

Tired but not defeated (with their fighting spirit and resistance intact and secure in their ideals and

rights), the indigenous people, five hours later, yet again took over the plantation. Four days later, on June 19th, they were violently thrown out. Weakened and destroyed, they decided to stay for good by the highway where they built small huts.

However, the contempt of the powerful landholders for the poor extended to limits so inhuman and savage that they burned down the small and humble shacks. So were fulfilled the words of the prophet Micah: "Woe to those who plot evil....seizing the fields that they covet, they take over houses as well, owner and house they confis-

### The Role of the Parish

cate together."

Cajolenos would not give up and decided to go by foot to the capital, Guatemala City. After

Despite all their oppressive sufferings, the

tional Palace where they delivered a petition to the President and where they, men, women and children, suffered once again the brutal repression of the police forces. Fortunately, they found support in the Church and from the University

several days of walking, they reached the Na-

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of San Carlos. They stayed until December when INTA agreed to the sale of the Santa Domingo holdings in the municipality of Champerico, Retalhuleu where the Trinitarian Fathers' (Padres Trinitarios) parish is located. About 900 families came and formed a new community and as of December 1992, the new area has been called Nueva Cajolá (New Cajola).

The "Jesus the Saviour" parish of the

Trinitarians went all out to provide all kinds of help from spiritual assistance to social assistance and accompaniment in their struggle. The Trinitarians also served as their spokespersons before the civil and church authorities. The campesinos, ever grateful, felt that the support they received from the Trinitarian priests and their parishioners was in keeping with the option (for the poor) of the diocese of Quetzaltenango and the pastoral line of the Bishops' Conference of Guatemala.

cultivation of corn and from the support that they receive. The promises made by the government have never been fulfilled and the Cajolenos are faced with the problems of a lack of food, health care and education, poor living conditions, infrastructure and organization. Caritas and other charitable organizations lend help, but it still not enough. The principal victims are children.

Presently, their only income comes from the

### Call to Solidarity

been many tears, blood, pain and death, but there is new life which looks to the future. This hope for the future is nourished by our understand-

In Nueva Cajola there is hope. The cost has

ing of Jesus' words that "there is no greater love than the giving of one's life for one's brothers and sisters". Our communities have become enriched by the solidarity of all those who have come to know the reality of Nueva Cajolá.

We have faith that the inhabitants of Nueva Cajola will win out. However, we feel the urgent necessity for the solidarity of the national and international communities and in particular that of the Trinitarian parishes and communities in Europe to collaborate with us through diocesan organizations and our parish, Jesus The Saviour in Champerico. We have formed a lay committee that has carried out the planning and verification of various projects.

faith in God gives life to those who live in solidarity and fraternity; that God wants us all to feel that we are his children; that we are brothers and sisters and the masters of creation, as opposed to the world of death and suffering propounded by the offspring of evil. We are inspired (and why not?) by the hope for and arrival of a new heaven and a new earth where there is no grief, no sadness, no pain.

We invite those who wish to contact us to do so at:
PARROQUIA JESUS SALVADOR,
PADRE EDGARD A. ARAUZ,

11007- CHAMPERICO, RETALHULEU, GUATEMALA

the Trinitarians are the coordinators of all projects but authority and responsibility to accomplish their own community projects dealing with labour, health, education, organization, etc., belongs to the Cajolenos themselves.

In the parish itself

We are inspired by the fighting spirit and faith in their own liberation which fills these new slaves of the powerful and their laws. We wish to live our human and spiritual dimension with a prophetic sense. We recognize that the fight for a land of milk and honey is a long and difficult one; that



•	) Monday	2 Tuesday	<b>A</b> Wednesday
1869 1968	Ex 23:20-23 Matt 18:1-5,10 9: Mahatma Gandhi is born 8: Tlatelolco massacre, in the Cultures Square,	Zac 8:20-23 Luke 9:51-56 1980: Maria Magdalena Enriquez, Baptist, Press Secretary of the Human Rights Commission	Francis of Assisi Neh 2:1-4 Teodoro Fliedner Luke 9:57-62 1555: The Mexican Provincial Council forbids priesthood to Indians.
1972	México. 2: Invasion of Brunks territory (Honduras) by the United Brands Company. 9: Jesús Emilio Jaramillo, bishop of Arauca, Colombia.	of El Salvador (non-government), defender of the rights of the poor, martyr.  1990: Germany's unification.	World Amnesty Day.
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More than 200,000 persons have left the Catholic Church in Germany (especially former East Germany) during 1992, a 0.7% of the 28 million Catholics in the country. The Protestant Churches register the same phenomenon, a defection rate of 1.1% in 1971.

I do not know which Bible they read who say that religion has nothing to do with politics.

- Desmond Tutu.

Feast of our Lady of the Rosary; patron saint of the Blacks.  27th Canaday of Ordinary Time Hab 12-3, 22-4 3 Tim 16-3 13-4 1908: Emesto Che Quevars, hysician, guerrilla, intermetionalist, murdered in Bolivia. 1970: Nestor Paz Zamora, enrinarian, university student, son of a Bolivian general, marty of his people's liberation struggle. 1974: First deficate Parliament of the Southern Cone, in Assunction, Paraguay.	1589	Luke 10:1-12 Death of Saint Benedict, the Black'. His parents were slaves in Sicily, Italy. Although he was illiterate, he was elected master of novices and house superior, due to his sense of hospitality.	Luke 10:13-16	Luke 10:17-24  1462: Plus II officially condemns slavery of the Africans.  1931: Birth of Desmond Tutu, South-African Black Archbishop, Nobel Peace prize winner.  1978: José Osmán Rodriguez, campesino delegate of the Word, martyr in Honduras.  1980: Manuel Antonio Reyes, parish priest, martyr in El Salvador.
Hab 1 2-3, 2 2-4 2 Tim 16-8 13-14 Luke 17-5-10  1968: Emesto Che Guevara, physician, guerrilla, internationalist, murdered in Bolivia.  1970: Néstor Paz Zamora, seminarian, university student, son of a Bolivian general, martyr of his people's liberation struggle.  1974: First Indian American Parliament of the				
internationalist, murdered in Bolivia.  1970: Néstor Paz Zamora, seminarian, university student, son of a Bolivian general, martyr of his people's liberation struggle.  1974: First indian American Parliament of the				Hab 1 2-3, 2 2-4 2 Tim 1 6-8, 13-14 Luke 17-5-10
				internationalist, murdered in Bolivia. 1970: Néstor Paz Zamora, seminarian, university student, son of a Bolivian general, martyr of his people's liberation struggle. 1974: First Indian American Parliament of the

9 Monday  Jonah 1:1-2:1,11  Luis Beltrán Luke 10:25-37	10 Tuesday  Jonat 3:1-10 Light 10:38-42	11 Wednesday  Jonah 4:1-11  Soledad Torres Acosta  Luke
1581: Luis Bettrán, priest, witness to the faith, in the Andes Liberation Army.	1987: First Encounter of the Blacks of the South and South-East of Brazil, in Rio de Janeiro.	1581: Ulrich Zwingli dies in Switzerland 11:1-4 1629: Luis de Bolaños: Franciscan missionary, forenamer of the "reducciones" (Indian villages converted to Christianity), translator of the catechism, apostle of the Guarani people.

Today there are 5,000 different groups of Aboriginals in the world with a population of 300 million people in total, accoding to estimates by the United Nations. They live in more than 70 countries.

12 Thursday  Mai 3:13- Luke 11:5- Feast of Our Lady of the Appartition, Black, patro saint of Brazil. This devotion began in 17: 1492: At 2 in the morning, Columbus sees, at a distance, the island of Guanahani. He call	Joel 1:13-15; 2:1-12 3 Luke 11:15-28	14 <b>Saturday</b> Josi 3:12-21 Luke 11:27-28
it San Salvador (today it is called Watting) 1925: Six hundred marines land in Panama. 1958: First contacts with the Ayoreo Abortginals (Paraguay). 1976: Juan Bosco Penido Burnier: Jesuit missionary, for ten years he dedicated himself to the Bakairis and Xavantes, martyr in the Mato Grosso, Brazil.		
	153	28th Sunday of Ordinary Time 2 kings 5 14-17 2 Tim 2 8-13 Luke 17 11-19 5: Pedro de Mendoza explores the River Plate with 12 ships and 15,000 men.
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September  S M T W T F S 1 2 3 1 2 3	Nevember	

# 16 Monday Rom 1:1-7 Luke 11:29-32 World Food Day. Proclaimed in 1979 by the Food and Agriculture Organization to encourage the fight against hunger, mainutrition, and poverty. 1992: Rigoberta Menchú obtains the Nobel Peace Prize

17 Tuesday

Rom 1:16-25 Luke 11:37-41 18 Wednesday

1977: Massacre at the Aztra sugar plantation in Ecuador. More than 100 people are killed because they protest not being paid.

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This is the perverse logic of 500 years of colonization in Latin America: we do not exist for ourselves but for others. We do not produce for our own consumption but to export what others want to consume.

- L. Boff.

From the economic point of view, Latin America is an invention of the expansionist capitalism, European first, and then world-wide.

- L. Boff.

19 Thursday Pedro de Alcántara Rom 3:21-30a Luke 11:47-54 1970: Lázaro Cárdenas, Mexican patriot, dies in Mexico.	20 Friday Rom 4:1-8 Luke 12:1-7 1548: Establishment of the city of La Paz. 1883: End of war being fought between Chile and Peru over borders. 1944: The Guatemalan dictator Utico is overthrown by popular uprising. 1975: Raimundo Hermann, American parish priest of the Quechus Indians, martyr of the Bolivian campesinos.	21 Saturday Rom 4:13,16:18 Luke 12:8-12 1973: Gerardo Poblete, Salesian priest, tortured and killed, martyr of Chile.	
		29th Sunday of Ordinary Time  Ex. 17 8-13 2 Tim 3 14 - 4.2 Luke 18 1-3  1977: Eugenio Lyra Silva, lawyer of the Agricultural Workers Federation, martyr of the Brazilian justice system.	Jacobs
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Monday

24 Tuesday

**5** Wednesday

Rom 5:12,15b,17-19,20b-21 Luke 12:35-38 Luke 12:13-21 1981: Marco Antonio Ayerbe Flores, university student, Peru.

Luke 12:35-39 1887: A segment of the Brazilian Army, in solidarity with the popular cause, informs the Portuguese Empire that it will no longer allow the Army to be used to destroy the towns of the Blacks.

1975: Władimir Herzog, journalist, is assassinated by the military dictatorship in São Paulo.

1983: USA invades Grenada. 1987: Carlos Páez and Salvador Ninco, Aboriginal

leaders; Luz Estela and Nevardo Fernandes, workers; Colombia.

But, what kind of gospel can the wolf preach to the sheep? What kind of gospel can the master preach to his slaves? Obviously, not a gospel that talks about "liberation", because that would mean to deny himself; rather he will be forced to talk of submission and obedience. And if there is liberation, it will have to be a spiritual liberation, alien to real history. Could a gospel without liberation be an echo of Jesus' gospel? - L. Boff.

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# 30 Monday

Rom 8:12-17 Luke 13:10-17

Luke 13:10-17 1979: Santo Dias da Silva, 37 years old, labour union leader, metalworker, martyr of the

Brazilian workers.

1983: Raúl Affonsin is elected president in
Argentina following a military dictatorship.

## 31 Tuesday

Rom 8:18-25 Luke 13:18-21

1553: The first Black community in Latin America not to experience slavery appears in Esmereldas, Ecuador, its leader is Alfonso da Illescas.

### Wednesday

All Saints Day

Rev 7:2-4,9-14 1 John 3:1-3 Matt 5:1-12a

1974: Florinda Soriano, "Doña Tingó", illiterate campesina, leader of the Federation of the Christian Agrarian Leagues, martyr of the Bominican people.

1979: All Saints Day Massacre in La Paz, Bolivia. 1981: Simón Hemández, Achi Aboriginal, delegate of the Word, in Rabinal, Baja Verapaz, Guatemala.

1981: Independence of Antigua and The Barbadoes. National holiday.

		Barbadoes. National holiday.
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I believe, sisters and brothers, that the saints have been the most ambitious of people. Those who wanted to be really great. And they are the only really great ones. Not even heroes can reach their height. This is what I strongly desire for all of you and for me; that we be great, ambitiously great, because we are images of God and we cannot be satisfied with mediocre greatness.

- Oscar Romero, Sept. 23, 1979.

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# November 25, Day Against Violence to Women

The First Latin American and Caribbean Feminist Meeting (Bogotá, 1981) chose November 25 as the international date for the fight against violence toward women. The delegation from the Dominican Republic proposed this date to honour the Mirabal sisters: Minerva, Patria, and Maria Teresa.

They are vivid examples of women committed to the struggle of their people. They fell victims to the violence of the Trujillo regime which, for thirty years, kept the Dominican people in backwardness, ignorance and chaos. By 1960, the Dominican people had had enough of the dictatorship and there were daily street confrontations with the repressive military forces that supported the dictator.

The Mirabal sisters were born in the Ojo de Agua Section, province of Salcedo, in the Dominican Republic. The very low standard of living both in the area where they lived and throughout the country, thanks to the powerful influence of the United States and antiquated modes of production, generated in them a sensitivity to social problems.

The active participation of the Mirabal sisters in the fight against Trujillo brought them the reputation of being revolutionaries. It was because of this that Trujillo once said that his only two problems were the Mirabal sisters and the Church.

### Patria Mirabal

The eldest sister was a witness to the numerous injustices committed in her country. While very young she married Pedro González Cruz and they had three children. Their home was a refuge and a meeting place for the co-ordination and organisa-

tion of the Fourteenth of June Movement. The Movement was discovered and the leaders and most members were sent to jail. Among them were her husband and 12-year-old son. Her home was ransacked and her possessions were expropriated. She herself suffered a horrible death.

### Minerva Mirabal

At the age of 22, she was detained and sent to jail because she rejected the amorous advances of the dictator. At the height of her political development, she was also one of the organisers of the Fourteenth of June Movement. In 1955 she married Manolo Tavarez Justo and they had two children. Minerva was a representative of the most advanced political ideas of her time and she is looked up to by those people who are forced to constantly fight for their freedom. Her death was also very cruel.

### María Teresa Mirabal

The youngest of the three sisters, her revolutionary and anti-Trujillista background together with her profound social awareness brought her to actively collaborate with the Fourteenth of June Movement. A victim of the repression, she was jailed several times. Maria Teresa showed great strength and dignity while being interrogated by the Military "Intelligence" Service (SIM). The whole country was moved by her death.

### What happened that November 25, 1960?

Minerva and María Teresa, accompanied by Patria, went to visit their husbands who were in jail. They were intercepted, on an isolated part of the road, by agents of the Military "Intelligence" Service. Brought to a nearby sugarfield, they were subjected to the cruellest tortures. After that, the agents committed what is considered the most ghastly crime in Dominican history. Covered in blood, they were subjected to blows and finally strangled. They were then put back into their vehicle which was driven over a cliff to simulate an accident.

The murder of the Mirabal sisters caused great

pain all across the country. It served however to strengthen the patriotic spirit of those wanting to establish a democratic government which would guarantee respect for human dignity. These brave sisters, risked their lives, and were actually martyred for the Cause of Women. Memory of them gives us hope and empowers us to continue fighting for a society devoid of *machismo*, egalitarian and where women and men can live as brothers and sisters.

# The Present State of Latin American Integration

- Raquel Bergeret, Montevideo, Uruguay

I recently attended an international gathering. During those full days of study, professionals from Europe, Asia and the Americas contributed from their experiences in organizations struggling for a better quality of life for all. The climate of serious, committed and collective searching allowed us to open up our hearts and gave us the confidence to present proposals. Yet even within this relaxed and sensitive environment, the great contrast between the individualistic and, I dare say, competitive manner in which the rest of the participants contributed and the spontaneous solidarity shared by the Latin Americans must have been evident to even the most absentminded of those present. Perhaps you have had a similar experience. It makes me think of what a friend of mine who used to live in exile is always saying: differences are erased and people no longer define themselves as Mexican or Uruguayan but rather, simply, as Latin American.

Darcy Ribeiro, the well-known Brazilian an-

thropologist, said something on one of his visits to Argentina that perhaps we have also felt at some time: "I have often been peacefully at home reading something written by another Latin American only to find myself feeling cheated, as he had said exactly what I was wanting to say; I suppose that the same or worse would have been felt by him. Without communicating we were thinking the same thing."

Ideas mature, and at this moment latinoamericanidad (Latin American identity) is an idea whose time has come: we as a portion of the world, are ready to come into being and to make a place for ourselves.

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And yet many of us who have had strong experiences of *Patria Grande* (a greater homeland) forget, when we start speaking of integration, what we already have and look to the outside world. It seems to us that we have everything to learn from the European community, or that the Initiative for

the Americas, just because it comes from the Americans, is the only one that could finally make this famous integration a reality.

Before going on, therefore, I would like us to ask ourselves, "What integration are we talking about?" For it is true that the most unaware of observers finds in Latin America, beyond the great variety of faces, skin colours, music, styles — indigenous, African, Hispanic, mestizo, etc. — common traits and feelings which clearly define us, and in a certain sense integrate us. But it is also true that all of this runs up against borders which blood and fire have so often played a role in creating. Ask the Chileans, who are still claiming the lands which the Argentinians took, if this is not the case when they fight the Peruvians. Ask the

Bolivians about their land corridor to the sea. Let each of us look at the historical grudges which separate us from our neighbours. We will realize that our "official histories," those that are normally taught in our schools, are told in such a way as to keep us confined within our own boundaries, while our great heroes, who almost always had a vision of the *Patria Grande*, are confined to bronze statues and within borders which they never accepted.

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Neocolonialist interests have posed and continue to pose real difficulties for the political and economic integration of Latin America which was a part of Bolivar's and Artigas' dream of a *Patria Grande*. We still have not been able to create for ourselves on our Continent those "intrinsic powers" that Bolivar considered necessary for the desired integration: something we ourselves must do, based on who we are, our ethos, and our capacities. Independence was declared in the cities, where those people, who had begun to exploit the resources in an unjust way, excluding or killing the original owners of the lands, lived. The oppressive

colonial regime remained virtually intact. The new states, centered in the capitals, remained as powerless as before, for the landowners continued to depend economically on the imperialisms of the North. And these latter have always been served by our disputes and our differences. This explains why, in nearly two hundred years, no initiative for integration — and there have been many of them — has been able to succeed. The existing continental organization, the OAS, has lived under the "protection" of the Americans, who definitely defend their interests; they have always been served by our divisions.

But now something is changing: the homegrown colonialists, heirs of those who, in attending to their own interests and the demands of the markets of

> the time, created the borders of our current nations, are today ready to open those borders in the simple interplay of different interests.

Latin American integration, which was the dream of the heroes of independence, is not reflected in political and economic structures because there were then — and continue to be today — outside interests opposed to integration which have imposed their own conditions. After many years of frustration with such institutions as the Latin Ameri-

can Free Trade Association, the Latin American Integration Association, the Andean Pact, etc., our politicians now find that it is our neighbour to the North that is committed to our integration. "America for the Americans" is born again. And we Latin Americans are the poor relatives, unable to set conditions.

When all around us there is talk of an integration called for by the world market, and based on purely economic interest, over which the North habitually imposes its hegemony, it is important that we Latin Americans make the effort to recover our own voice also in the political and economic realm. Until now, the proverbial Latin American creativity, expressed so often in literature and in art, has not, however, touched the majority of its politicians. It would appear that the requirement for dialogue with the so-called First World has led them to follow patterns in which their worth is judged according to how well they are able to assimilate to that "global village of the few." That is how politicians have justified the "adjustments" to which we have had to submit lately in different places throughout the Continent — at an enormous social cost, i.e. greater poverty for many — as the necessary "toll" on the road to economic and technological modernization which require our integrated "opening." They have been unable to use the language which we Latin Americans usually do, that of hospitality and solidarity. And so the relationship of politicians to people becomes routinely electoral. And we are invaded by lies and corruption. Integration, which we have no reason to doubt is also the dream of the majority of Latin American politicians, is in this way aborted. Therefore, it seems to us that it is time to invite the politicians to face the people honestly and to speak their language in order to have strength when it is time to negotiate.

The Indians of Chiapas have led the way; they have asked that the truth be spoken. For what to-day is euphemistically called "social cost" is no other than the sacrifice of millions of real people. And each and every person is very valuable in and of themselves.

There are nearly 500 million of us. This is a great wealth. If the majority are young, the wealth is all the greater. All of us together will be able to say something. Let us look, then, at the kind of integration we want to strengthen. We should make an effort to recognize the value of the integration of our peoples which already exists and celebrate once and for all the enormous richness which our varied cultures bring us. Grass-roots organizations, cooperatives and base communities already form

networks where ideas about Latin American identity (*latinoamericanidad*) circulate freely. Artists and intellectuals, as well as church people, also manage to get together. The Bishops' Conference in Santo Domingo was conclusive proof of a Latin American identity which went beyond the hegemony of the Vatican.

Integration is strengthened when there is greater space for the voice at both the national and the Latin American level of those who are the majorities "on the inside" and who know no borders, whether for the good or for the bad, whether it be in order to find work or to come down with cholera

There are among us high rates of illiteracy. Technology and the mass media are in the hands of the few. These are cultural and educational challenges which should give us a sense of solidarity. For citizenship is strengthened through education, and with the knowledge and use of technology, our people, in their undeniable creativity, will seek a greater quality of life for all more efficiently.

To strengthen integration we need educational policies that don't remain in the classroom. They must consider the mass media and introduce technology. But above all, they must put the primary emphasis on safeguarding the invaluable riches of our many cultures. For the great challenge is to give currency to the Latin America of many faces and innumerable languages which has resisted despite poverty and oppression; which has overcome exclusion through the informal economy (the creativity of survival); and which through its festivities and religious observances is capable of making us recover the joy of living.

Is this not a greater wealth than all of the riches the market has to offer us? Would it not be worth making the greatest of efforts and undertaking the most difficult of negotiations for this kind of integration?

	All Sou	tursday  s Day Rom 8:31b- Luke 13:31- Luke 13:31- I Nationalities and Mnoritie		A Satus day Rom 11:1-2a,11-12,25-29 Charles Borromeo Luke 14:1,7-11 1763: The Ottawas attack Detroit	
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Rom 11:29-35 Leonard Luke 14:21-4 66: Imperial decree 3275 grants feedom to all those slaves prepared to defend Brazil in its war against Paraguay	Willibrord Rom 12:5-18a John Christian Frederik Heyer Luke 14:15-24 1513: Ponce de León takes possession of Fiorida	Rom 13:8- Luke 14:25- 1546: the Cupules and the Chichurcheles rebel against the Spanish in the Yucatan, Mexic 1976: Carlos Fonsecs, leader of the Sandinistas, killed in Nicaragua
	It is time to learn whether or not we really	

not be in vain! May truth return to our land!
- the Zapatista Army

Chiapas, Mexico, after he was asked to re- Mexicans, held in San Cristobal, Chiapas.

sign his post by the Papal Nuncio to Mexico.

	Luke 15:1-10 84: The first meeting of Black Religious, Seminarisns and Priests is held in Ric de Janeiro. 89: The Berlin wall is torn down.	Luke 16:1-8 1543: Martin Luther is born in Germany 1984: Alvaro Ulcué Chocué, Indigenous Páez priest, is assassinated in Sentander, Colombia	Soren Kierkgaard Luke 16:9-15 1976: Bill Woods, Maryknoll missionary priest, former American soldier in Vietnam, is martyred in Gustemala
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liberation movements.

Nis 1:1-7 ke 17:1-6 14 Tuesday Diego de Alcalá

Wis 2:23 - 3:9 Luke 17:7-10

	Albert the Great	Wis 6:2-12
		Luke 17:11-19
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army in an insurrection of indigenous people in Bolivia 1889: Brazil is proclaimed a republic

1904: U.S. marines land in Panama 1981: Elpidio Cruz, a worker for Caritas, is killed by the army in Honduras

1982: 54 black candidates run for office in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Only 2 are elected as the vote is divided

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I thank all those who, when they do not agree with their bishop, have the courage to enter into dialogue with him. - Oscar Romero, Sept. 9, 1979

The bishop always has a lot to learn from the people. - Oscar Romero, Sept. 9, 1979

It does not take much to be a good pastor with people such as these.

- Oscar Romero, Nov. 18, 1979

### 16 Thursday Friday Saturday Wis 13:1-9 Acts 28:11-16:30-31 Luke 17:26-37 Luke 17:20-25 Matt 14:22-33 1867: The Duke of Caxias writes to the Emperor of 1815: José María Morelos, a priest and tireless 1681: Roque González and his two Jesuit fighter for the independence of Mexico, is companions are martyred in Paraguay Brazil to express his concerns that Blacks, shot after having been condemned by the set free to fight in the war against Paraguay, inquisition. might begin a rebellion for their own 1982: The Latinamerican Council of Churches, legitimate rights upon their return CLAI, is founded 1903: Panama grants the United States 1989: Ignacio Ellacuria, several Jesuit companions permission to build the Panama Canal and two women domestics are murdered in San Salvador 33rd Sunday of Ordinary Time Mal 4.1-2a 2 Thes 3:7-12 Luke 21:5-19 1980: Dantos Jiménez Martínez and Jerónimo, Protestant pastors and campesinos, are martyred in Guatemala <u>October</u> <u>December</u> November <u>\$</u> <u>M</u> 2 9 T 5 <u>F</u> 3 2 1 4 11 12 18 19 25 26 13 20 27 10 14 8 10 11 16 23 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 24 16 23 30 15 21 28 12 13 14 15 17 18 20 27 17 18 19 21 22 23 22 29 . 21 28 19 20 22 24 30 31 26 29

### Wednesday Monday Tuesday 1 Mac 1:11-16,43-45,57-60,65-67 2 Mac 6:18-31 Luke 18:35-43 The Presentation of Mary Luke 19:1-10 1542: The New Laws govern the "encomiendas". 496; Gelasio, the African Pope, who denounced 1910; Joso Candido, leader of the Revolt of They are suppressed in 1545 but in fact the errors of the Roman Senate and was Chibata. At the time Brazil was the third remain in force until 1710 considered the "Father of the Poor", dies. most powerful maritime power in the world. 1695: The three hundredth anniversary of the death 1831: Colombia declares its independence The leaders of the revolt took command of of Zumbi de los Palmares. The Portuguese 1966: The National Organization of Women is the larger warships and pointed their guns at the Presidential Palace, demanding the government initiated 25 wars against the founded in Chicago. end of corporal punishment and better food Quitombos gathered in Palmares, Brazil. 1975: Campesinos are massacred by mercenaries They lost 24 of them but won the last, hired by landowners in La Unión, Honduras and conditions for all Brazilian sailors, black thanks to six cannons, the most advanced and white. of the time, which they aquired from England.

2 Mac 7:1,20-31

Luke 19:11-28

An annual expense of US \$3 million in the fight to prevent AIDS could cut in half the number of new cases among adults worldwide by the

year 2000. Moreover, it would save more than \$90 billion that would be incurred in taking care of these sick and dying people.

28 Tuesday ) Wednesday Monday Dan 1:1-6,8-20 Dan 2:31-45 Dan 5:1-6.13-14.16-17.23-28 Luke 21:5-11 Luke 21:12-19 Luke 21:1-4 1980: Juan Chacón and fellow leaders of the 1978: Emesto Barrera "Neto", worker-priest, is 1916; Massive invasion of US marines and the Democratic Revolutionary Front are killed in martyred in El Salvador for his work with establishment of a protectorate in the Dominican Republic El Salvador base communities 1980: Marcial Serrano, parish priest, is martyred in 1976: Pablo Gazzari, Argentinian priest, is El Salvador for his work with campesinos kidnapped and is disappeared International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People

The World Health Organization calculates that 14 million men and women are infected with the AIDS virus, and that 2 1/2 million have now developed AIDS. This amount increases by about 5,000 cases each day and could lead to 40 million cases by the year 2000, if urgent means are not taken.

# Massacres in the Jungle

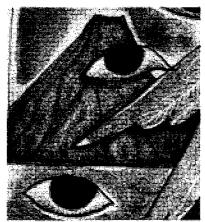
- Ricardo Falla

Over the past year, this book, written by the Jesuit priest, Ricardo Falla, has made the news all over Latin America. It is about the massacres of indigenous people in the Ixcan region of Guatemala which he witnessed while working with the Communities of Populations in Resistance (CPRs). The book breaks the silence by revealing the truth that religious people, people of faith, descendants of the conquistadors, mercilessly massacred thousands of human beings whom they considered to be of less importance than their own privileges. They idolized selfish values that were seen as absolute. This is a book that has to be read to keep alive the memory. . . and the hope. Here are some of its conclusions.

The army persecuted both the Evangelical and Catholic Churches, both selectively and through indiscriminate scorched earth policies. This persecution represented a basic mistrust of the Church for not fulfilling its traditional role of legitimizing the "ladino" state.

The Church was seen by the army as an institution which promotes the liberation of people from a faith perspective (the army would call this "subversion"). As much as racism and discrimination, it was this distrust of the Church which led to the counterinsurgency campaign.

This distrust excluded, expelled and assassinated priests (Woods, Stetter, Gran) because they were seen as instigators of the peoples' liberation



and therefore potential or real supporters of the insurgency. In the name of this distrust, religious ceremonies and celebrations were limited, hindered and infiltrated; Church leaders mocked and Church members threatened. Catechists were assassinated, religious groups while holding services were surrounded and burned to death in their places of worship, especially the Evangelicals. Religious activities were considered to be acts of deceit, where subversive actions were hidden behind a screen of harmless prayers and songs, which was not the case. By way of warning, corpses were arranged in religious attitudes evoking Jesus Christ on the cross or the faithful kneeling in prayer. Churches were razed to the ground and holy symbols were destroyed because they were part of the people's social life which was meant to be smothered.

This experience of persecution strengthened people's faith and had the following characteristics:

- a) the experience of a God who is on the side of the persecuted and who saves them from death at every turn. They saw their experiences as similar to Jesus', who was persecuted as a child (refugee) and later killed;
- b) the experience of a concrete, practical and saving faith which responded to human mediation by engaging in the struggle of the people;
- c) the experience of solidarity which was at its strongest when it was most necessary during the repression;

 d) the experience of grassroots ecumenicism (which was sometimes promoted from outside) which led to an absence or a decrease of the horrible sectarian divisions which plague Guatemala;

e) a cautious faith in the institutional church, symbolized in the early martyred priests like William Woods.

During the most intense moments of persecution, faith cleansed itself like embers that catch fire in the wind, but the church itself was torn apart and religion lost strength. When the

church rebuilt itself, as much through resistance as in refuge, these embers, which could have fallen apart and been extinguished, remained solid and burst into flame. What was important was not the rebirth of religious expression but that it was by a faith born in times of persecution.

Seeds of a new life have been born from the massacres.

The massacres were

not just a wretched end to life, but paradoxically were like fertilizer needed by the earth for new growth. These new buds in the Ixcan are the populations in resistance as much as the refugees.

In resistance life begins to defeat death when the people escape the army. For some fugitives, who were almost captured, their escape was God's liberation. After this liberation, the human need for contact or the love of one's family or neighbours was a spark of life which reunited the dispersed and the lost who then established the first camps in the mountains.

For those who have suffered loss, the beginning of this new organisation was often accompanied by tears, which are also a part of life as they give psychological comfort and lead, like a doorway, into a new form of existence. The weeping was accompanied by another sign of life which was the feeling of brotherhood which destroyed the barriers of family, language, ethnicity, and religion by emphasizing the common bonds of being a people, totally destitute as everything had been

lost. Their houses were burned down, their belongings stolen or destroyed, their animals eaten by soldiers, the comfields slashed with machetes, the churches wiped off the map, all tranquillity wrenched away...

A new family is born when orphans become sons and daughters, a new com-

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munity is born when its members are brothers and companions, a new church is born when catholics, evangelicals, charismatics, and traditionalists can get along together. The walls of the houses and the temples came down.

All of this represents life. Even more, the backbone strengthening this experience lest it should vanish as the emergency disappears is also a source of life. The backbone is the form of collective production adopted as a defense against the soldiers, but also against the wild animals which eat the corn.



But we are also talking about a flexible and humane collectivism which does not break with the home (cooking was done by the families, not as a collective) and does not disregard personal or cultural desires and needs (families kept their own strips of land). It also did not destroy social ethnic identities nor regional identity (the feeling of being "fellow country people" is very strong). It makes the differences less absolute and encompasses them into the community, where the group assigns each person with a task in production or other duties. These "seeds of the dawn" contrast against the death of massa-

ties of Populations in Resistance is what Archbishop Romero called "pastoral accompaniment". The basis of this pastoral work consisted of "being with the people"; sleeping with them outside and in storms, being persecuted with them, and resisting with them. This is why, when they burnt our communities I escaped with the people. For example it was up to me to help a desperate widow who was carrying her 2 year old son on her back and a baby against her bosom; my priestly vocation at this moment was to help her with another 4 year old daughter who was stuck in the mud with a suitcase. The next day, Sunday, we celebrated mass with the community that was fleeing into the jungle. We spread out the altar cloth over a nylon sheet on the ground and while explaining the gospel we remembered the beatitude: blessed are the persecuted for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. If these words are subversive, blessed be the sub-

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versive gospel.

The work that I carried out in the Communi-

In addition to this accompaniment, the pastoral work I did with the help of the catechists was the everyday work of baptisms, masses, weddings, visiting the sick, preaching the word

of God, catechism, cursillos, youth groups, spiritual exercises. All of this was a form of resistance, not so much heroism as a grace from God, a gift of happiness and freedom.

Another apostolic duty that I carry out is social research. This scientific instrument of anthropology is part of my apostolic and priestly vocation that can serve this poor and persecuted people. Why would I study this discipline if I were not going to put it to use for those that needed it most? Consequently I tried to denounce the terrible massacres of 1982. It is very understandable that those sectors of the military which carried out so many attacks years ago are now so very annoyed, particularly as the people have now acquired a lot of experience and will not let themselves be massacred as before.

### The Air and the Wind

I travel along the roads likethe little donkey from San Fernando, partly on foot and partly walking.

Sometimes I see myself in others. I see myself in those who will remain, in the sheltering friends, the insane devotees of justice, the flying creatures of beauty, and the other tramps and idlers who are wandering about and who will continue to wander - just as the night-time stars and the ocean waves will continue in their motion. So, seeing myself in them, I am the air learning to understand that my essence will live forever in the wind.

It seems to me that it was Vallejo, César Vallejo, who said that sometimes the wind changes its air.

When I myself am no longer, the wind will be there, will go on being there.

# For a Non-Neoliberal Christmas

So that no one would be left marginalized, our God. in Jesus Christ. became truly marginalized: born on the margin, he lived on the margin, he died on the margin.

Never part of the established order, today he would be found outside of the neoliberal

Folly and scandal, without doubt, but life and salvation with even less doubt.

system.

We will only be able to find the Child and the star where they really are, if we go to the margin,

if we become marginalized ourselves, with marginalized God.

The Latinamerican Agenda wishes you, your family, community, group, movement, association...

A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year

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# Monday

John Damascene, Barbara Matt 8:5-11

## Tuesday

1824: The Brazilian Constitution, in its comple-

Isaiah 11:1-10

1492: Christopher Colombus arrives in Espanola on his first voyage

mentary laws, forbids lepers and Blacks

Luke 10:21-24

6 Wednesday Isaiah:25:6-10a Matt 15:29-37

Nicholas of Mira

1534: Quito is founded 1969: Joao Candido dies, hero of the Uprising of Chibata.

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Spanish is spoken by 350 million people around the world and population experts estimate that the number will reach more than 500 million by the year 2025. It is the official language in 21 countries, most of them in the Americas. By the year 2000, approximately 90% of Spanishspeaking people will live in the Americas. (Cervantes Institute)

つ つ つ	Thursday  Isaiah 28:1-6  Ambrose Matt 7:21,24-27  1849: Miraculous escape by anumber of slaves condemned to death for their part in the Revolution of Quernado in Espirito Santo, Brazil. Popular tradition attributes the miracle to Our Lady of Pena, whose sanctuary was built by slaves.  1981: Lucio Aguirre and Elpidio Cruz, Honduran Delegates of the Word, are martyred because of their solidarity with Salvadoran refugees.	Sen 3:9-15,20 Eph 1:3-8,11-12 The Immaculate Conception Luke 1:28-38 15-42: Las Casas concludes his most scathing work on the conquest "A Brief History of the Destruction of the Indians" 1977: Alicia Domort and Leonie Duquet, religious, and their companions are martyred because of their solidarity with the families of the disappeared in Argentina. Alicia was the first religious to have lived in a poor barrio in Buenos Aires.	Saturday  Isaiah 30:18-21,23-26 Matt 9:35 - 10:1,6-8  1824: Victory of Sucre in Ayacucho. Last battle for independence.  2nd Cunday of Advent (saiah 35:1-6a:10 James 5:7-10 Mess 5:7-10 M	
וחחחחחח				December
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# Damasius Isalah 35:1-10 Lars Olsen Strefsrud Luke 5:17-28 1978; Gaspar Garcia Laviana, priest, martyr in the fight for the liberation of the Nicaraguan people.

# 12 Tuesday

Isalah 40:1-11 Guadalupe, Juan Diego Matt 18:12-14

Guadalupe, Juan Diego Matt 18:12-14 1531: Mary appears to the indigenous, Juan Diego, in Tepsyac, where it was customary to honor Tonantzin, the "venerable mother".

1981: Hundreds of Salvadoran campesinos are massacred at El Mozote, in Morazan, El Salvador

# 13 Wednesday

1978: The independence of St. Lucy

Isaiah 40:25-31 Lucy Matt 11:28-30

Salvador	
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Believe me that I never felt being a priest more than now, because I live with the certainty of offering my live for the liberation of others. Before, when I was not risking my life, to be a priest was different: offering the life of the Other, not mine at his side.

- Gaspar García Laviana

We ask: Where are you, God? and God replies with a question: Where is your brother, your sister?

- Pedro Casaldáliga

U i	John of the Cross Isaiah 41:13-20 Teresa of Avila Matt 11:11-15 1890: Rul Barbosa orders all the documents concerning slavery in Brazil to be burned in order to remove this stain from the country. 1973: The United Nations states that Puerto Rico	15 Friday  Isalah 48:17-19  Valerian Matt 11:16-19  1975: Daniel Mombara, martyred in Argentina for being a university student committed to the poor.	16 Saturday  Eccl 48:1-4,9-11  Adelaide Matt 17:10-13  1984: Eloy Ferreira da Silva, union leader, in San Francisco, MG, Brazil  1991: Indigenous martyrs of Cauca, Colombia	
1111	is a colony and affirms the right of its people to independence			
			3rd Sunday of Advent	
つつつつつ			Isarah 35 1-6a. 10 James 5 7-10 Matt 11:2-11  1819: The Republic of the Gran Colombia is proclaimed in Angostura  1830: Simón Bolivar, liberator of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, and founder of Bolivia, dies at the age of 47.	
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# 18 Monday Jer 24:5-8

1979: Massacre of campesinos in Ondores, Peru. 1985: Joao Canuto and sons, union activist in

Brazil

Matt 1:18-24

19 Tuesday

Judges 13:2-7,24-25a

Luke 1:5-25

# 20 Wednesday

Isaiah 7:10-14 Luke 1:26-38

1816: Luis Bettrán, Franciscan priest, "first engineer of the liberation army" of the Andes, Argentina 1989: The United States attacks and invades Panama to capture Norlega.

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One should look for the Infant Jesus not among the pretty statues of our creches but among the malnourished children who have gone to bed hungry; among the child newspaper sellers who sleep, wrapped in their papers, in doorways; in the poor little shoeshine boy who perhaps has earned enough money to buy a gift for his mother. How sad is the story of our children!

- Oscar Romero, Dec. 24, 1979

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10 11 12 13 14 15 16

24 25 26 27

21 22 28 29 23 30

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17 18 19

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23 24 25

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19 20

25 Monday	26 Tuesday	27 Wednesday
Christmas Isalah 52:7-10 Acts 1:1-6 John 1:1-18	Acts 6:8-10; 7:54-59 Stephen Matt 10:17-22	John the Evangelist John 20:2-8 1512; Promulgation of laws regulating the
1553: Valdivia is defeated in Tucapel by the Araucanians.		encomienda of the indigenous people and first legislative revision, brought about by denunciations made by Pedro de Córdoba
1652: Alonso de Salvador, witness of Indian slavery in Cartagena, prophet and defender of the Blacks.		and Antonio Montesinos  1979: Angelo Pereira Xavier, chief of the Pankararé nation in Brazil, is killed in his
		people's fight for land. 1985: The governor of Rio de Janeiro signs law
		962/55 which forbids racial discrimination in elevators.
·		

Chiapas is the first postcommunist revolution, in that its language is not petrified, dogmatic and heavy but rather fresh and new, like that spoken by subcommander Marcos, who obviously has read Carlos Monsiváis much more than Karl Marx.

- Carlos Fuentes

# Glossary

### Bandeiras (Port.)

Colonial exploratory expeditions whose purpose was capturing runaway slaves, as well as finding gold and precious stones.

### Bandeirante (Port.)

A member of a bandeira.

### Campesino

A broad term referring to a member of the rural population, whether Indian or *ladino*, who owns a very small plot of land or who holds it in some form of tenantry (subsistence farming), as well as to landless peasants who provide the bulk of the plantation seasonal workforce for the agro-export sector. (Source: *Power in the Isthmus*, James Dunkerly)

### **Comal**

A clay pan used to bake tortillas.

### Compañeros

People engaged in a common struggle. It is frequently used as a term of address.

### Cofrádias

Socio-religious Indian organizations which worship particular saints. They combine both Catholic and Indigenous forms of belief and practice.

### Grileiros (Port.)

Land grabbers.

### Grito de Dolores

An impassioned speach given by Fr. Miguel Hidalgo (1753-1811) to his parishioners in Dolores, Mexico to summon them to support a revolt against Spanish rule in 1810.

### Homeland

The original Spanish text of this agenda used the term *Patria Grande* (cf. below) which we translate as 'homeland'

### Ladino

Term used in Central America to refer to that Spanish-speaking segment of the population made up of mixed blood, indigenous and those of European ancestry, who have no direct links with Indian culture. Because it is mainly a cultural category, the *ladino* status may be acquired by the adoption of European dress and customs together with the use of Spanish. (Source: *Power in the Isthmus*, James Dunkerly)

### Patria Grande

the political union of Hispanic America. Although it took different shapes throughout Bolivar's career, the best known forms are: a) his dream of the union of the different Hispanic American republics into a single political body, on the basis of their commonality in race, religion, language and history; b) his 1825 project for the confederation of the South American republics. This later became the Federation of the Andes, including only the nations which he founded (Bolivia, Perú and Colombia, then including present day Venezuela and Ecuador). (see "Homeland" above) (Source:

Bolivar: A Contribution to the Study of His Po-

litical Ideas, C. Parra-Pérez. Translated by N.

The concept refers to Simon Bolivar's dream of

### Quilombo (Port.)

Andrew N. Cleven.)

A hideout for runaway slaves.



The hope for freedom has burned in the hearts of the Latin-American people almost from the moment that Christopher Columbus first set foot in the Americas. The past five hundred years bear witness to thousands upon thousands of people who have endured in the struggle for a peace based on justice.

This year's edition of the Latin-American Agenda tells some of their stories. Written for the most part by Latin-Americans, it speaks to us of the past, not out of a spirit of nostalgia, but to remind us that our hope for the future draws its inspiration from the past. The past and the future meet in the present. Memory and hope come together in today's struggle for peace with justice.

The Latin-American Agenda comes to us from the people of that continent. Published for a number of years in Spanish, it was last year translated into French, Portuguese and Italian. We are happy to now bring it to you in English.

All proceeds from the sale of this Agenda will be used in defense of the human rights of the Latin-American people.